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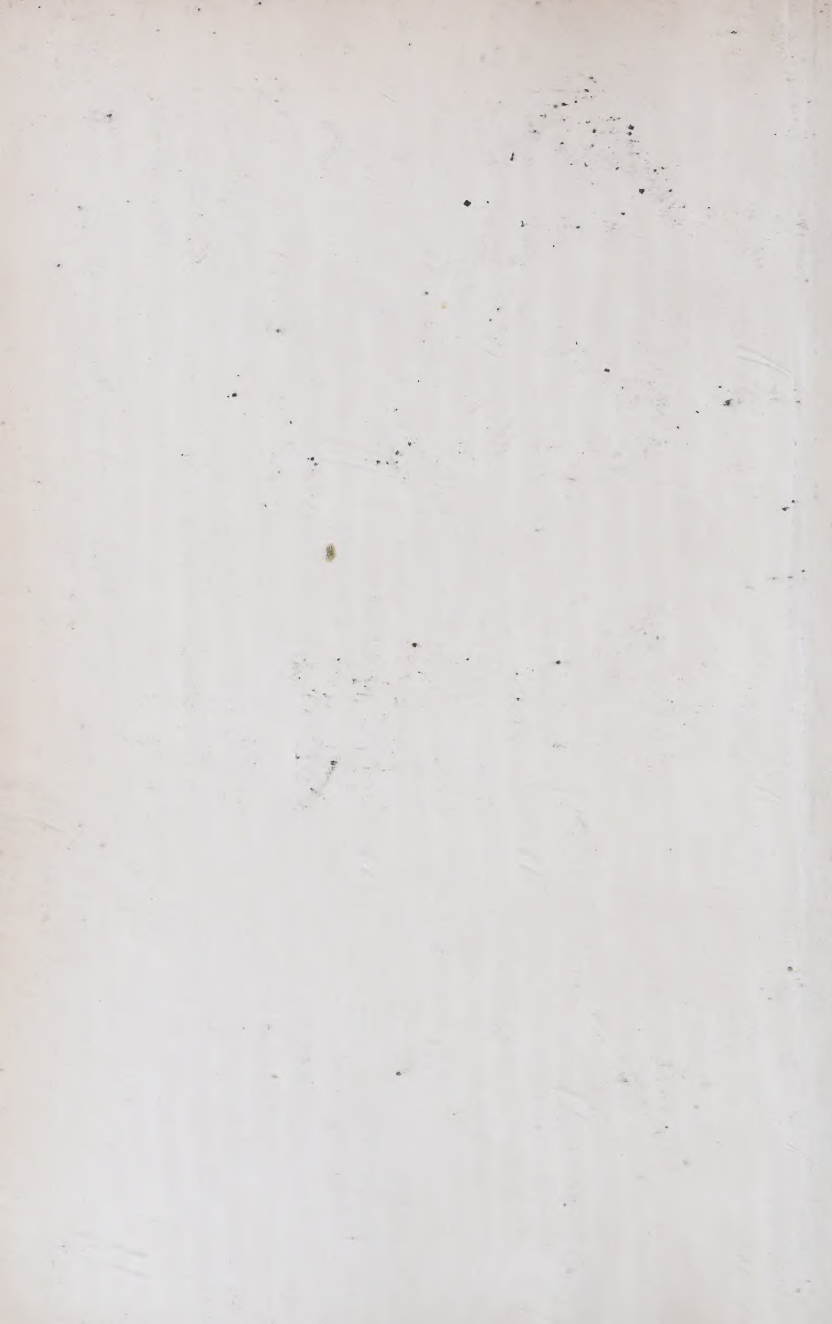
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AN ELIZABETHAN GALLEON

# VOYAGES OF GREAT PIONEERS

EDITED BY  
VINCENT T. HARLOW

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# CONTENTS

List of Illustrations . . . . .	vi
Books for Further Reading . . . . .	viii
Introduction . . . . .	ix
I. The journey of Friar William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World . . . . .	5
II: The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian . . . . .	33
III. Journal of the First Voyage of Christopher Columbus . . . . .	55
IV. The First Voyage of Vasco Da Gama to India . . . . .	89
V. The Search for the North-West Passage	
1. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's <i>Discourse to prove a</i> <i>Passage by the North West to Cataya</i> . . . . .	135
2. The Second Voyage of Sir Martin Frobisher . . . . .	171
VI. The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake . . . . .	195
VII. Sir Walter Raleigh's <i>Discoverie of the Large, Rich,</i> <i>and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana</i> . . . . .	234
VIII. Dutch and English in the East Indies	
1. The First Voyage of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies, 1601 . . . . .	263
2. An account of the Massacre at Amboyna . . . . .	290
IX. The Discovery of Australasia	
1. Tasman's Journal of <i>A Voyage made from the</i> <i>town of Batavia in East India for the discovery</i> <i>of the unknown South-Land</i> (1642) . . . . .	307
2. Captain James Cook's First Voyage round the World . . . . .	335

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

An Elizabethan Galleon. British Museum . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Prince Henry the Navigator . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> xxvi
An Astrolabe of 1574 . . . . .	xxxvi
The early factory at Surat, 1638, from Von Mandelso's account of his travels in the East (1658 ed.) . . . . .	<i>page</i> xlvii
A caravan on the move in the desert, and the head of a camel caravan coming over a pass into China. Photographs by Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 10
Anthony Jenkinson's map of Russia, Muscovy, and Tartary, 1562 . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 16
Marco Polo setting out on his journey from Venice in 1338. From a manuscript illustration (Bodleian Library) . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 34
A fifteenth-century ship. Cotton MSS., Jul. E. iv. 6 . . . . .	58
Columbus discovering America. From a woodcut of 1494 . . . . .	<i>page</i> 72
Section of the Contarini-Roselli map of the World, 1506. British Museum . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 128
Robert Thorne's map of the Western World, 1527. British Museum . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 138
Map of the World, by Ortelius, A.D. 1569. From <i>Theatrum orbis terrarum</i> , 1574 . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 144
Greenlanders with Canoes. From Frobisher, <i>De Navigatione</i> , 1580 . . . . .	<i>page</i> 183
Plymouth in the Mid-Elizabethan period. Cotton MSS., Aug. I. i. 44 . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 196
Title-page of Raleigh's <i>Discovery of Guiana</i> , 1596 . . . . .	<i>page</i> 234
Part of Raleigh's Map of Guiana, showing Eldorado alongside Lake Manoa . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 244
A Dutch East Indiaman. From an engraving by Hollar in the British Museum . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 264
A Dutch map of 1600, showing the route to the East Indies. British Museum . . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 272

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

vii

Hondius's World Map of 1595. British Museum . . . . .	<i>facing page</i>	308
View of Murderer's Bay, 1642. From Tasman's original journal . . . . .	<i>facing page</i>	324
Australasia as mapped before Cook's discoveries. From <i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i> , 1763 . . . . .	<i>page</i>	335
A coasting vessel of Cook's time. From the <i>Encyclopédie méthodique Marine</i> . . . . .	<i>page</i>	340
A Maori war canoe. From Parkinson, <i>Voyage to the South Seas</i> , 1773 „		351
Australian warriors . . . . .	„	371

## BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

- C. R. BEAZELY: *The Dawn of Modern Geography*. (Oxford, 1904-6 ; 3 vols.)  
*Prince Henry the Navigator*. (London, 1894 ; Heroes of the Nations Series.)
- HENRI VIGNAUD: *Histoire critique de Christophe Colomb*. (Paris, 1911 ; 3 vols.)
- FILSON YOUNG: *Christopher Columbus and His Voyage of Discovery*. (London, 1911 ; 3rd ed.) A popular work largely based on Vignaud.
- K. G. GAYNE: *Vasco da Gama and his Successors*. (London, 1910.)
- F. H. H. GUILLEMARD: *Life of Magellan*. (London, 1890.)
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- J. A. WILLIAMSON: *Maritime Enterprise, 1485-1558*. (Oxford, 1913.)  
*Europe Overseas*. (Oxford, 1925.)  
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- ARTHUR KITSON: *Life of Captain Cook*. (London, 1911.)

## INTRODUCTION

THE great age of discovery, which saw Da Gama open the Cape route to the Far East, and Columbus stumble upon an unknown continent, was the swift outburst of energy which had been stored and matured in previous ages. Similarly this outward movement of Christendom does not cease when the brave doings of Cortez and Pizarro, of Drake and Raleigh, give place to those of the sober settler and the merchant. The pioneers are farther afield. While the avenues of trade to India, China, and the Indies steadily developed, and the European rivals strove for maritime and imperial mastery, the path-finders were sailing the Southern Seas, exploring the coasts of *Terra Australis*, or cutting their way through the jungle of Equatorial Africa. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are, so to say, the pivot age, the time of transition, when Europe emerges from the long medieval period of preparation and feels its way with quickened vigour into those new domains of thought and action which are characteristic of our modern civilization. To understand then this age of great deeds, it is necessary to examine its origin far back in the Viking age and the Crusades, no less than to follow its subsequent development when Marco Polo is forgotten and the Spanish grandee is a picturesque relic of a time that has passed.

Two parallel processes, each reacting upon the other, are to be discerned in this growth and expansion of Christendom: on the one side, a series of violent injections of barbarian blood, followed by slow painful assimilation and resulting in heightened energy and keener intellect; on the other, a constant pressure of Asiatic races on her eastern borders, exercising an influence that was occasionally formative, usually restrictive, and sometimes both. Barred from direct contact with the fabled riches of India and the Land of Silk by a living wall to the East and a sea of unknown terrors on the western side, Europe rose at last and by rapid blows across the Atlantic, round the Cape, and by Magellan's Strait gained the goal—and changed for good or ill the history of the world.

The making of modern Europe from the materials of the old may perhaps be said to begin with the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity. From that time until the death of Justinian,

that is to say, the period when the Roman Empire flourished as a Christian state centred at Constantinople, a steady stream of pilgrims journeyed to the holy sites of Palestine and Egypt. Usually following an overland route from North Italy by Constantinople and Asia Minor, these early travellers not only visited Syria, but also wandered as far as Edessa in Mesopotamia, or like S. Silvia of Aquitaine (*circa* 385) to Lower Egypt and Arabia. They constitute, indeed, the first small sign of an outward impetus of the Latin races. As we watch them trudging eastward amid so many and great dangers, eager to view with credulous awe the garments of Our Lady or the rock indented by the footprints of the Lord, and to ascribe every untoward event to the intervention of 'the powers of the air', their doings seem to bear little connexion with the history of European expansion. None the less, their religious faith, with all its crudity and superstition, was a living ardent thing, an expression of the most potent of all the forces which have fashioned the world in which we live. The pilgrim was the fore-runner of the Crusader; and he in turn, of the missionary and the trader. Furthermore, the narratives of these early travellers supplied valuable knowledge of the Near East. Side by side with myth and legend, there appear accurate and informing descriptions of towns and peoples. Two examples of this feature must suffice. Antoninus, pilgrim and martyr, solemnly asserts at one point that he has actually seen the pillar of salt that was once Lot's wife, and that it was still the same as ever, despite a lying rumour that it had been lessened by licking. On the other hand, in the self-same narrative, valuable facts are also recorded: ships laden with spices from India are seen in the Red Sea ports, pleasure-seeking Alexandria and the cataracts of the Nile are vividly described. Even more striking is the case of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who proves conclusively from the Scriptures that the Universe was a parallelogram, of which the four walls and roof were sky, conveniently glued to the edges of the earth which was the floor. Yet Cosmas himself was an indefatigable traveller who voyaged as far as India. In short, these early pilgrims recorded fact and fancy with equal emphasis; but they represent a quickening of the spirit unknown to the Ancients.

Europe, however, had need of new blood no less than of new ideals. The convulsions produced by the infusion of barbarian stock into the collapsing Roman Empire temporarily arrested develop-

ment within, and put a stop to external enterprise. The Christian Empire of the west broke and foundered before the hordes of Vandals, Franks, and Goths. Chaos reigned. Even when the conquerors came to share in the work of re-construction, much of the Roman culture seemed to be either permanently debased or lost for ever. Popes and emperors strove to resurrect the universal Church-State of Constantine, but with indifferent results. In this dismal period from the seventh to the tenth century the western world had indeed gone back in order to go forward. Equally unpromising was the spectacle presented by Byzantine Christendom. A new faith had arisen proclaiming the unity of God and the claims of Mohamet to be His prophet, before the onslaught of which the Empire of the Byzantines slowly shrank and decayed. Small wonder then that the stream of European travellers thinned to a trickle, that no new discoveries were made, and that scientific interest collapsed.

Fortunately the scientific heritage of Greece was being preserved by Islam. In the seventh century the Arab followers of the Prophet inaugurated a series of sweeping conquests through Syria, Central Asia, and Northern Africa, until their successors were thundering at the inner gates of Christendom in Southern France and on the Danube. The importance of that great fact is two-fold. In the first place, the stern necessity of self-preservation called the Christian peoples from petty internecine strife to a more wholesome and more fruitful form of combat. Secondly, it brought into existence a political and intellectual entity which received and preserved the scattered fragments of Greek thought, and passed them on in a later time to their Christian rivals. From being the potential conqueror of Christendom, Islam incidentally became its tutor.

Energetically fulfilling the precept of Mohamet to 'seek knowledge even in China', the Abbaside Caliphs of Bagdad set themselves to the getting of wisdom. Nestorian scholars at the bidding of Harun Ar-Rashid (786-809) translated great numbers of Greek and Latin classics into Syriac, and from the Jews of Alexandria was drawn all there was to be known of ancient medicine. It was Alexandria too which aroused Moslem interest in geographical science and astronomy. Under Harun's successor, the Caliph Al-Mamun (813-33), the Bagdad library was enriched by the works of Ptolemy, Euclid, Archimedes, and Aristotle, and a great school of geography was founded. Governors, merchants, and pilgrims as they ranged

through Central Asia, China, and the Indian Seas, were required to furnish reports and maps, which were carefully recorded and correlated.

During the ninth century, when Europe was floundering in dismal anarchy, Arab science and discovery was at its height. The narrative of the travels of Suleyman the Merchant (the historical basis of the seven voyages of Sinbad the Sailor) gives accurate descriptions of the Persian Gulf, the Maldives, Ceylon, the Andaman Islands as they were passed en route, as well as a detailed account of the customs, religion, and government of China and India. In fact the Arab traders were masters of the Eastern Seas and intimately acquainted with nearly all the peoples of the Orient. Even when the Moslem Empire broke up into four distinct groups, Arab intellectual vigour retained its full strength until well into the eleventh century.

While Moslem speculation and discovery in one direction urged Christendom forward, it held her back in another. This dual influence is well illustrated in the career and writings of Al-Massoudy (d. 956). This man was one of the most thorough of all the Arab observers and compilers. In his time he travelled through every Moslem country from farther India to Spain, as well as through a large part of the Byzantine Empire. His great encyclopaedia, *The Meadows of Gold*, contains histories of all the known races, descriptions of the regions occupied by them, and of the shape, extent, and age of the globe. He represents the high-water mark of Arab earth-knowledge. At the same time he represents no less clearly the definite limitations of that knowledge. Even Ptolemy, with all his guess work, had placed a great ocean to the west of Africa: Massoudy, on the other hand, thought that the Canaries were separated from India only by a narrow strait. Beyond the Pillars of Hercules according to him was a pathless waste, full of nameless terror. 'For no vessel sails on that sea: it is without cultivation or inhabitants, and its end, like its depth, is unknown.'<sup>1</sup>

In short, these Arab wanderers and scholars brought the tribes of Tartary, the cities of the Celestials and India within the ken of the western world, thus inspiring in a later age a new Christian movement to the East. On the other hand, the old slavish fear of the unknown West, inculcated by Strabo and Ptolemy, was taught anew

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by C. R. Beazley, *Dawn of Discovery*, i. 465.

with even greater potency. Islam, then, gave to Christendom knowledge and an impetus, but also a great fear. When the Ottoman Turks barred the way and thwarted the impulse to find the riches of the East overland by Asia, Europe was compelled to await a greater driving force—the Renaissance—before she was strong enough and courageous enough to break through the darkness of the West.

The influence of the Byzantine Empire upon western Europe was for the most part indirect. Byzantine art undoubtedly influenced the Slavs and found its way to Italy and to some extent beyond: but this is not the case with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle and the scientific findings of the Greeks. These were assimilated by the subjects of Al-Mamun and his successors and passed on to the Christian merchants and travellers who visited the Levant and Cordova. With the decay of Arab power, great geographers, such as Edrisi (1099–1154) at the court of Roger of Sicily, laid the treasures of their knowledge at the disposal of their Christian patrons. Adelard of Bath, Gerard of Cremona, Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and other great thinkers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are soaked not in a Graeco-Byzantine, but in a Graeco-Arab, science.

As yet, however, Christendom cared for none of these things. Paralysed in thought, violent without being constructively vigorous, shut off from the East, and crippled in the Mediterranean by Moslem predominance, she had need of new fire before her people could be capable of the splendid virility of the thirteenth century and the Renaissance. The challenge and the awakening came from the only quarter where there was a free outlet—from the bleak seas of the North and in the persons of the Norse sea-rovers. Their restless daring drove them west and south and east, until the name of Viking was the terror of Europe. First as buccaneers in the last decade of the eighth century and then as rebels from the new centralized regime of Halfdan the Black and other kings, they fought their way along three clearly marked lines of advance. One branch swept by the Orkneys and Shetlands and the Faroes to Iceland, which was first settled in 874 and to Greenland three years later. Another series of attacks were delivered against England, the north German shores, and 'Frankland', where in 922 Rolf the Ganger founded his state of 'Normandy'. Then reuniting at the Scilly Isles with kinsfolk from the Irish Ostman kingdom, the more venturesome pushed

their way to the Bay of Biscay and the riches of Moslem Spain and Northern Africa until finally their successors established a Norman kingdom in the Sicilies. Equally victorious was the eastern advance which followed the Baltic up to Finland and thence to Novgorod, where in 862 Ruric founded the medieval kingdom of Russia.

This swift irruption of a people who shattered opposition in almost every quarter marks a turning point in European history. Terrible and destructive as their inroads were, their amazing vigour galvanized Christendom into activity. When the Northmen accepted the Christian faith and turned their energies to state-making, men such as William the Norman of England, and Vladimir in Russia left an enduring mark upon their subjects. Not only that; they infused a new spirit into every race in Christendom. Physical vigour pulsing through the body stirred the mind to intellectual daring and spiritual fervour, from which sprang the richest fruits of the Middle Ages.

In geography, they gave to Europe new and concrete knowledge of the Baltic countries, of Iceland and Greenland in the far North, and finally of America itself. This last the most brilliant and famous of all their discoveries is recorded in the *Saga of Eric the Red* and more fully in the later *Flatey Book*, which, despite many obscure and fabulous details, unquestionably establishes the fact that Vikings visited the American coast as far south, at any rate, as Nova Scotia. About the year 989 one Biarne Heriulfson, on a voyage from Iceland to Greenland, had been driven by storms far to the west until he sighted the coast of a land which was level and covered with forest. Five days later more land was seen; this time a snow-clad island with mountains of ice. On finally reaching Greenland, Biarne told his tale, with the result that Leif, son of Eric the Red, set forth in 1000 to find and explore the new country. After landing on the last coast sighted by Biarne, which seemed a region of no profit, Leif named it Helluland (possibly Labrador), and sailed again till further land was found. Here they landed on a broad beach of white sand fringing a great forest. And Leif said 'We will give this a name after its nature, and call it Markland' (Woodland). Putting to sea once more and steering south, they came at last to where a river flowed out of a lake which abounded in salmon. Into this they towed their ship, unloaded their effects and erected a large house; for they purposed to winter in this fertile land. While one

half of the crew continued the hut-building, the others spent each day in exploring the country, gathering samples of the wild grapes and self-sown wheat and in felling timber. In the spring they sailed away for Greenland, again laden with their findings, and were received with great honour. Leif 'the Lucky' and his Vinland voyage became a favourite theme on winter nights when the ships lay idle on the beach and tempests howled about the rovers' halls.

Unfortunately, Leif's successors in discovery met with little but failure and disaster. Thorvald, eager to outbid his brother's exploits, spent two successive winters in Vinland with thirty comrades, exploring the coast west and east, and in finding much beautiful country. But just when the party had found a particularly delectable spot for a permanent settlement on a fiord, a great host of *skraelings*<sup>1</sup> in canoes suddenly appeared and attacked them. The natives quickly fled, but Thorvald had been mortally wounded under the arm. As soon as the spring came, his crew made their way back to Greenland, laden with grapes and timber as Leif's men had been: but no new home had been established. A much more ambitious venture was that of Thorfinn Karlsefne in 1006, who with 150 men and women in three ships set out in a resolute attempt to found a permanent Norse colony in Vinland. At first all went well; the Skraelings came and bartered furs for dairy produce. But at the beginning of the following winter when they came again, their insolence provoked hostilities which culminated in a battle. All hopes of establishing a peaceful colony were over. Far from their kinsfolk, and few in number, the Northmen could not hope to succeed in the face of a constant menace from the Skraelings. This, the most hopeful of all the Viking attempts in the New World, was abandoned, and the disappointed emigrants sailed back in 1008 to Eric's Fiord in Greenland. Had they succeeded the course of modern history might well have been different. The final voyage described in the Saga is that of Freydis, the evil daughter of Eric, and her two brothers Helge and Finnboge with a large company. Discord, lust, and vengeance is the theme of the story, resulting in wholesale murder. Then the voice of the Skald ceases and darkness falls. From scattered notices in other Norse accounts, it seems that

<sup>1</sup> The word *skraeling* in Greenland denoted Eskimo, but the description of the natives on this occasion would seem to indicate some ancient Red Indian tribe.

intermittent intercourse between Greenland and North-East America continued until late into the fourteenth century. But by that time the slow encroachment of ice and the pressure of adversity was driving these hardy settlers from their Arctic homes.<sup>1</sup> Europe was about to strike by other paths to warmer and more fruitful climes.

The Norse discovery of the New World and the persistent efforts to gain a foothold there was thus a gallant venture which might have altered the course of history, but which petered out to nothingness. When Columbus sailed from Palos he had probably never heard of Leif or Thorvald. And yet Columbus was in some degree the heir of the Northmen. From Novgorod by Thames and Seine to Sicily they had stamped their fiery restlessness on Europe. This thrusting quality tempered by religious fervour was the mainspring of that medieval spirit, which produced the Crusades, the Renaissance, and the Age of Discovery.

From the seventh to the tenth centuries anarchy in Europe and the rise of Islam had, as we have already seen, reduced the volume of travel to the Holy Land to very small proportions. With the opening of the eleventh century, however, the stirring of new life became apparent. Disciplined and enriched from outside by the superior military skill and leadership of the Northmen, the European folk replied in kind by an intrepid missionary zeal which converted Hungary and Scandinavia to the Christian faith, and drove the Moslems back in Italy and Spain. The Dark Ages with all their misery and weakness had produced a spirit that in one sense conquered the conquerors. The new life thus engendered mounted higher and

<sup>1</sup> During the summers of 1925 and 1926 Inspector Nörlund of the National Museum in Copenhagen conducted excavations on the sites of the old Norse settlements in Greenland, which prove that they were a more thriving colony than had previously been thought. It appears that there were settlers in three or four thousand scattered farms, and also fifteen Churches, eight of which were used as law courts. The ruins of the vast episcopal palace have been cleared, revealing a banqueting hall as large as the largest mentioned in the Sagas, hothouses, stables, cow-byres, and sheep-folds, &c. In the Cathedral itself, which was of the same size as that at Trondhjem, various chapels were discovered, one of which contained the well-preserved remains of a bishop in full pontificals, who probably lived about A. D. 1200. In his hand was a pastoral staff with a crook of walrus tusk and a gold episcopal ring was on his finger. On a tomb at Herjulfnes, near Brattahlid (the palace of Eric the Red), a runic inscription was discovered.

higher, until, provoked by Turkish cruelty in Palestine, and guided by the statesmanship of Hildebrand and Urban II, it found its vent in the first Crusade to Syria in 1096. At that moment Christendom was more of a spiritual unity than it had ever been, even in the days of Constantine. By 1098 Antioch was taken; and in the following year Jerusalem was in the hands of the Christians. It mattered little that the first conquering ardour slackened, and that the Crusaders' kingdom slowly weakened until the Holy City finally became a Moslem possession (1244). Christian pilgrims, scholars, and traders followed in their thousands upon the heels of the warriors, established intercourse with the Levant and gained a vision which was never lost. The gates of the East were open once more: and the men of the new age who crowded through them were not long in extending their gaze from the Holy Places to the more material riches of China and the Indies. It seemed within their grasp to convert a vague tradition of Oriental wonder into a glorious reality. With the overthrow of Turkish power at Bagdad by the Mongol Tartars in 1258, the opportunity of Christians to penetrate to the farther East had apparently come. Convinced that the Tartars were favourably inclined to Christianity, men such as Friar John de Plano Carpini and Friar William of Rubruck journeyed in the name of Christ as far as the wall of China, and Marco Polo found and reported for the benefit of Genoa and Venice the splendour of Kublai Khan. When the overland route became finally closed Europe had at last gained concrete knowledge of the long-sought East. Then it was no long time before the Portuguese and Spaniards, instructed from Italy, conceived the plan of reaching the goal by sea.

The pilgrims who followed the Crusaders to Palestine present a striking and progressive difference from their predecessors in the time of Justinian or Charlemagne. The earlier travellers had little interest for the things of this world; their narratives are saturated with mystical legend. On the other hand, Saewulf the trader, who visited the Holy Land in 1102 and Abbot Daniel of Kiev (c. 1106), given as they are to uncritical credulity, show a new anxiety to verify statements of fact. 'If I have written', the latter says, 'without learning, there is at least no lie: for I have described nothing that I did not see with my very eyes.'<sup>1</sup> Even more representative of the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Geography*, vol. ii, p. 159.

new scientific attitude is Adelard of Bath who (c. 1110-14) visited Egypt and Arabia to learn the causes of all things, and who returned to England with a rich collection of Arab and Greek manuscripts.

But it is in the great travellers of the thirteenth century that this spirit of inquiry is exhibited in its fullness. By them the European nations were provided with detailed accounts of Central Asia and the Far East, based throughout on shrewd well-informed observation. Their travels in these regions were made possible by the rise of the Tartars. When the latter pushed the waves of their all-conquering attacks over Central Asia on the one side and to Silesia, Poland, and Hungary on the other, Europe was divided between hope and fear. The new Huns, lords of the world outside Europe, were imperilling her existence: at the same time, they were overthrowing the power of the Moslems, her most potent enemy. Could the Tartars be drawn into peaceful relations, and better still, converted to the Christian faith, European security and trade would be enormously increased. At the Council of Lyons in 1245 two diplomatic embassies from the Pope to the Grand Khan of the Mongols, were arranged. Of one of these, led by a Portuguese Franciscan named Lorenzo, we know virtually nothing. But the leader of the other expedition, one Friar John de Plano Carpini, not only performed the great journey to Kuyuk Khan in Mongolia and returned to the Pope with an answer, but set down an invaluable account of his travels and of all that he had seen respecting the Tartars. India and China he did not see: but for the first time Christendom was given an accurate description of the country, the manners, and the customs of the great races between the Volga and the Gobi Desert. By Cracow and Kiev, across the Don and Dnieper, he made his way with infinite hardship to the Volga and the camp of Batu, the conqueror of Russia and Hungary. Thence, 'most tearfully we set out, not knowing whether it was for life or for death' through snowy wastes and biting winds to find Karakorum in Mongolia and the 'horde' of the Grand Khan himself. Having received a written reply to the Pope's missive, Friar John and his party turned their faces homewards, struggling through the pathless plains and sleeping by night in shallow holes dug in the snow till at last on June 9th, 1247, Kiev was reached again, where a great welcome was accorded. Created Archbishop of Antivari in 1248, this intrepid traveller did

not long survive the hardships of his journey, but his place among the great pioneers was assured.

In the same year (1248) King Louis IX of France was holding court in Cyprus during the disastrous venture of the Sixth Crusade, when a certain Sabeddin Morrifat David arrived there as an envoy to St. Louis from Ilchikadai, a Mongol general commanding in Persia. This David seems to have made it his business to tell the Christian King all those things which he most wished to hear; that the Grand Khan with all the chief Tartar princes had embraced Christianity three years before, that Ilchikadai had been converted even earlier, and that the Mongols were strongly disposed to a Christian alliance against Islam. The information was afterwards found to be false and the embassy itself to have been sent without the authority of the Grand Khan. Nevertheless in the meantime St. Louis was so pleased with the news that he dispatched a return embassy in the same year under Friar Andrew of Longumeau. The expedition was a failure; the only reply obtained from the Mongol court being an insolent letter demanding tribute. But the travellers succeeded in convincing themselves—and eventually Louis also—that the Tartars, and particularly Sartach, the son of Batu, had actually adopted the True Faith. Much useful and original information, however, had been collected concerning the country, customs, and history of the Mongols. Almost immediately, too, a further incentive presented itself to Louis in the persons of Philip de Toucy, Baldwin of Hainault, and other noblemen who had been sent by the Emperor Baldwin II to the Comans of Southern Russia. There at Caesarea they recounted to the French King their adventures which had led them as far as the Mongol Emperor's camp near Karakorum.

Thus encouraged Louis agreed to allow a Franciscan friar named William, from the village of Rubruck in French Flanders, to make one more venture to establish intercourse with the Tartars. After the humiliating rebuff received by Friar Andrew, an official embassy was out of the question; but William was furnished with money and with letters unofficially commending him and his companions to Sartach and the Grand Khan. Setting sail probably from Acre, Friar William and his party reached Constantinople, whence they started for Mongolia on 7 May 1253. For some years past this friar had been present at the court of Louis in Paris, had accompanied him to Egypt with the Crusade, had almost certainly met and

talked with John de Plano on his return from Mongolia, and had for twelve months been in contact with Philip de Toucy and his fellow adventurers. He was thus well equipped to undertake the journey which, after much undeserved oblivion, has made him famous. His narrative—the first in the present collection—raises him to a place of at least equality with that of his predecessor, John, in the history of overland expansion to the East. Col. Henry Yule goes even farther in describing him as ‘an honest, pious, stout-hearted, acute and most intelligent observer, keen in the acquisition of knowledge; the author, in fact, of one of the best narratives of travel in existence’.<sup>1</sup>

These heroic friars, John, Andrew, and William, in seeking to further the glory of God, had widened the horizon of Europe eastwards as far as the Gobi Desert. While the last of these was still among the Tartars, the two uncles of a far more famous traveller, Marco Polo, were on their way to the court of Kublai Khan himself, to the hidden wonders of India and the Celestials. In the year 1260 Nicolo Polo with Maffeo, his brother and junior partner, was conducting a prosperous trading venture in the Crimea when they found their retreat cut off by a Tartar war. As the road to the west was barred they decided to push their way eastward across the desert to Bokhara, where they stayed for three years. At the end of that time the brothers joined a party of Kublai Khan’s ambassadors who were about to return to Cathay. Twelve months’ toilsome travelling brought them at last to the Great Khan’s court, where they were kindly received, and then sent back to the Pope with a request to send one hundred Christian missionaries and some of the precious oil from the lamp of the Holy Sepulchre. Three years were spent on the return journey; and not until 1271 were they able to set forth once more, this time accompanied by two friars and their nineteen-year-old nephew, Marco. By 1275 they were in sight of the stately pleasure domes of Xanadu (Shang-tu) and the glories of an oriental civilization, which in contentment of mind and material wealth put warring Christendom to shame. The wanderers, and in particular, the young and handsome Marco, were received into high favour by the Khan, who for the next seventeen years employed them in public service. His frequent journeys as a travelling administrator acquainted Marco with all the details of the country and people of

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica* (9th ed.), xxi. 47.

China, Indo-China, and the Deccan. Finally in 1292 the three were reluctantly allowed to depart, and reappeared in Venice three years later as men risen from the dead.

The immortal narrative which Marco afterwards wrote while imprisoned in Genoa is something more than a mere catalogue of great travel. When Europe bought its silks and jewels and precious spices in Acre and Byzantium, it touched the outskirts of an unknown, which was rendered all the more mysterious by the legends of Crusaders and pilgrim travellers. The great Venetian tore away the veil; and in telling (on the whole, with fair accuracy) of the marvellous ports and cities, of the ten thousand royal inns along the roads, and the mighty rivers, he captured the glamour of the East, and wove therewith an abiding spell upon the Latin races. As John Masefield has aptly put it 'the wonder of Marco Polo is this—that he created Asia for the European mind'.<sup>1</sup>

The nickname of *Il Milione*, the spinner of a thousand fabulous tales, sufficiently indicates the reception at first accorded to his narrative. Not until fifty years after his death were the maps of Asia modified in accordance with his discoveries. It is equally true that the Polos were by no means the first Europeans to penetrate the East. Seven hundred years before John de Plano, Sieur Baldwin of Hainault, and William of Rubruck had gained their knowledge of the Mongolian steppes and Caucasia Byzantine embassies had traversed a large part of the ground; in the seventh century Nestorian missionaries had established themselves in China and Southern India; and Aelfred of Wessex in the ninth is reputed to have sent a mission to the Christians of Malabar and the Coromandel coast. Yet all these expeditions were but a series of intermittent contacts, inspired for the most part by individual potentates, soon to be forgotten with the passing of their originators. They represent indeed the stirring of dynamic forces among the races of Christendom: but the time had not then come when those forces would be strong enough to urge forward a multitude where one pioneer had trod. The Polos by exploring and describing the splendour and wealth of China, Siam, Burma, India, and the East Indies, not only impressed upon the Latin nations the possibility of vast extension of the Christian faith, but also opened up a vista of commercial empire. In the words of Francis Bacon three centuries later, there was 'a new unex-

<sup>1</sup> *The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian*, ed. J. Masefield, Everyman Edition.

plored kingdom of knowledge within the reach and grasp of man, if he will be humble enough, and patient enough, and truthful enough to occupy it'.

Marco Polo pointed the way clearly and definitely at a time when Christendom was beginning to react more powerfully than ever before to a spirit within her that was jointly derived from religious devotion, the vigour of the Northmen, the lore of Ancient Greece and Rome re-learnt, and the desire for commercial gain. His successors consequently represent three types: in the first place, missionaries inspired by a love of Christ; secondly, explorers who want to know; thirdly, merchants in search of gain. Finally, a type of man appears who combines in his aim all three of these desires, whose watchword is that of Da Gama—'we seek Christians and spices'.

Missionary enterprise in the East was the child of the Crusades, and it continued to grow in zeal and achievement through the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Through the untiring devotion of such men as Friar John of Monte Corvino, Ricold of Monte Croce, Jordanus, Odoric, and Marignolli, flourishing Christian missions were established in China, Persia, and India. At the same time, and more significant of the future, traders and adventurers were pursuing the same paths. These are the direct successors of the Polos. In or about the year 1339 Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, a merchant closely acquainted with China and Central Asia, published his handbook which describes the principal trade-routes to the East, and provides information concerning taxes on merchandise, 'for every kind of place where goods might be bought or sold in cities'. Yet the overland way to the East was destined to be but a temporary outlet for European activity. In the narratives of Clavijo the Castilian and Schiltberger of Bavaria in the early fifteenth century the termination of that epoch in which the Latin nations stretched out to the Orient by the caravan routes of the Volga and the Oxus is clearly foreshadowed. Already with the revolution of 1370 China had closed her gates to the foreigners from the West, and the Ottoman Turks in the Nearer East were slowly building an impassable barrier of barbarism. Gradually Europe was compelled either to acquiesce in isolation or else outflank the enemy and find her silks and spices by other routes.

The most important aspect of Marco Polo's influence is seen in

relation to Prince Henry of Portugal, the father of the great Age of Discovery, who received immense assistance in developing his theory of a route to the East from Marco's book. While staying in Venice in 1426, Prince Pedro, Henry's elder brother, is said to have been presented with a copy of the work which he duly handed over to 'the Navigator'. Whether this be so or not, the Portuguese were greatly influenced in their search for 'India' via the Cape by the Venetian's account of Madagascar and the Christian communities on the Eastern coast of Africa. Even more striking is the case of Columbus. There is still in existence his private copy of Marco Polo, profusely annotated in the Admiral's own hand. Throughout the narrative of his voyage of discovery, reference after reference shows that he is seeking the wonders of Cathay and Cipangu (Japan). For the rest of his life, as is well known, he remained firmly convinced that he had found the outer fringe of Marco Polo's land of the Grand Khan.

The two epochs of land and maritime expansion naturally overlap. While the merchants of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice pushed their commerce by Samarcand and Bokhara, the first tentative adventures into the western sea of terror were being made. As the Italian republics were pre-eminent in trade by sea, so did they lead the way in maritime discovery. In 1270 Lancelot Malocello came upon the Canaries; some years later a daring company from Genoa tried to sail round Africa to reach the ports of India, and in so doing reached as far as the Guinea coast, if not beyond. The first step had been taken towards breaking down that fear of the West created by Strabo and Ptolemy, and confirmed by the Arabs. But with the decay of the Oriental trade by land, Italian enterprise seems to have lost its thrusting capacity. More and more the initiative passed to the Spaniards and the Portuguese, to whom Italian map-makers and seamen were fain to hire their services for lack of home employment. The reputed exploits of Englishmen such as Robert Machin (c. 1370) in Madeira and of Frenchmen on the Guinea coast (1364-1410) are interesting and indicative of future development, but they need not detain us here.<sup>1</sup> It is with Dom Henry the Navigator, the

<sup>1</sup> The doings of Machin in Madeira and of Frenchmen on the Guinea Coast are little more than legends which may or may not be true. Modern scholars point out that it is very unlikely that the one-masted round ships used by Northern Frenchmen in the fourteenth century were capable of making regular voyages to and from the Guinea Coast.

hero of Portugal, that the history of European maritime expansion may be said really to begin.

Perhaps the most instructive feature of the great Age of Discovery is the curious blending of motives. A genuine desire to further the cause of Christ and an equally genuine desire for gold is present in the mind of almost every pioneer from Dom Henry down to Oliver Cromwell. If the process of European history is at bottom a shifting of ideals, a change from the pursuit of happiness in another world to that of utility in this, then these sea-children of the Renaissance clearly mark the transition. Prince Henry, third son of John the Great of the House of Avis and Philippa, daughter of our English John of Gaunt, was above all things a seer and a scholar. A voluntary recluse for forty-five years (1415-60) on the lonely headland of Sagres, he was possessed of an insatiable thirst for new knowledge, particularly of all things pertaining to the earth. As a practical outcome arose his determination to find a southern route, either by land or sea, to the east coast of Africa. Could this be done, the power of the Infidel (against which he fought at Ceuta) would be circumvented, the Christian communities of Eastern Africa reunited with their western fellows, and Portugal, tapping the riches of the Orient, would be free to build a great commercial empire.<sup>1</sup> Here then are the three great strands of his determination. He is at once the explorer (practical and theoretical), the crusader, and the imperialist. The emphasis differs with the individual, but each successor—and all the great pioneers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are directly or indirectly his pupils—displays the same threefold motive.

At the same time the idea of reaching the East by rounding Africa was slow of development and slower of execution. Indeed, modern scholars deny that Henry ever intended to reach the Orient. His sole purpose, it is said, was an extension of the trade with the Guinea coast, with a vague idea of ultimately reaching the fabulous kingdom of Prester John. Henry, quite clearly, had no conception of the immensity of the undertaking which he initiated. The term 'India' was then used indiscriminately not only for the land

<sup>1</sup> I am aware that there is no contemporary documentary evidence to show that Prince Henry had any idea of a sea-route to India. But the facts of his career would seem to indicate that he definitely aimed at the discovery of a short non-Moslem passage to the Christians of Abyssinia. (See below.)

of the Ganges and Indus, but also to denote the countries about the Red Sea. It was the Christian Prester in this nearer India that Henry sought; and the way thither seemed comparatively direct. According to ancient tradition, the source of the Western Nile, which would lead the explorer direct to his goal, was to be found somewhere in the west of Africa. Yet, granted that his immediate aims were limited to finding a short non-Moslem route to Abyssinia, it seems probable that this lifelong student, acquainted with Marco Polo and Arab records of the Far East, did contemplate a further extension of knowledge and power in alliance with the Christian communities whom he hoped to rediscover. However that may be, his was the imagination, knowledge, and will-power that drove his reluctant countrymen ever southward. But for him their later exploits would have been an impossible dream.

The first stages in the opening up of the West African coast were necessarily slow. Superstitious terror of the unknown sea had not been broken by familiarity, and the land encountered was as yet desolate and apparently uninhabited. The rediscovery of Madeira (1416) and of part of the Azores (1431-2) together with the information in the *Mappa Mundi*, brought home by Dom Pedro from Venice, suggested to Henry the idea of tackling the coast by directing his ships westward to these islands, and then southward to Guinea. Every year since 1418 had witnessed the departure of ships from Sagres under orders to round the great land-bulge of Cape Bojador, the farthest limit of Christian exploration. But every year the presence of shoals and swirling currents, necessitating a bold plunge out to the open sea, together with the fright inspired by Arab legends of the horrors awaiting the insolence of men who pried too far into the secrets of God, sent the crews back to their master full of rambling reasons for their failure. At last in 1434, one, Gil Eannes, who had come back the year before as empty-handed as his predecessors, was given peremptory orders not to return until the terrible Cape had been rounded. When he did drop anchor at Sagres once more, the barrier had been passed, and the future of Portuguese exploration was assured. From that time Henry's seamen, carefully trained by his instructors in map-reading and navigation, made steady progress. In 1441 two young adventurers, Antam Gonsalvez and Nuno Tristam, reached the district of Cape Blanco and brought back to Portugal the first 'blackamoors' and,

still more significant, a little gold-dust.<sup>1</sup> Henry had, in fact, begun to tap the sources from which Moslem caravans had for centuries drawn their rich supplies to transport across the Sahara to Ceuta and Spain. With the discovery of the Bay of Arguin in 1444, the exploitation of Guinea began and soon proceeded apace, pouring slaves and ivory and gold into Portugal, and thus, indirectly, wealth into Europe. Public opinion in Portugal which had regarded the Infant's idealistic notions with impatience now became thoroughly roused by the prospect of concrete wealth; but the search for knowledge and for possible converts faded before a lust for gold at any price and by methods no matter how barbarous. Indeed, the Navigator found that the discovery of riches, while saving his schemes from ruin by neglect, was also hindering their active prosecution. It was much more gainful to bring back a cargo of slaves from the land already discovered than to push forward through unknown seas. In 1445, however, Diniz Diaz offered to do more with one of Henry's ships than had ever been done before: and he kept the promise. After entering the Senegal river he sailed on till he came to the beautiful promontory of Cape Verde jutting far out into the Western Ocean. He and many more, were convinced that he had been close to the sources of the Nile, that the long quest was nearly over.

The next important step was taken by Ca da Mosto, a Venetian adventurer in Henry's service, who after many encounters with the natives reached Sierra Leone in 1455. Five years later, when the great prince was dead, Diego Gomez had just completed a detailed exploration of the Verde Islands, and other Portuguese sailors had reached Cape Palmas at the beginning of the Ivory Coast. To Dom Henry it was directly due that little more was now required to link the west coast-line with the eastern side, the chief features of which were already known from Arab sources. It is even more important to realize that it was to his knowledge and careful theories that the generation of Columbus, Vespucci, and Cabot turned for inspiration and guidance.

<sup>1</sup> One of the captives was a negro chief, whom Henry (according to Azurara's *Chronica*) sent back in exchange for five of his people, because it was better to convert five souls than one, and there would be a better chance of eliciting information of lands beyond Guinea. 'For not only of the Negro land did the Infant (Henry) wish to know more certainly, but also of the Indies and of the land of Prester John.' (See C. R. Beazely, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 202.)



PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR



The fact that the coast-line beyond Cape Verde turned sharply eastward, quickly revived the tradition of a fabulous Western Nile across Africa, which if ascended, would lead to India by a new route uncontrolled by the Moslems. Whether or no Prince Henry's ultimate ambition had been the circumnavigation of Africa, it now became a definite project. Following upon a period of renewed activity (1470-81) during which the Ivory and Gold Coasts and the northern part of the Bight of Benin were discovered, King John II (1481-95) set himself to accomplish this larger aim. Under his active patronage, Diego Cam in 1482-4 reached the Congo and during the three subsequent years pushed as far south as Cape Cross in 22° south latitude. One more leap forward into the unknown, and the east coast route to India would be comparatively plain-sailing. The execution of the task was entrusted to Bartholomew Diaz, who with a fleet of three vessels set sail from Lisbon in August 1486. Venturing farther southward than ever before, they ran out into the open sea for thirteen days with a following gale. The wind having abated, they then sought the land which was found to run eastward, instead of, as formerly, north and south. A northerly course was steered until they came to a bay which they named Dos Vaqueiros. Diaz was convinced that they were on the eastern side of the Continent; but his complaining crews would only proceed for about another four days and then, to his intense chagrin, insisted on turning back. The southward course soon brought them within sight of the great Cape, which had been for so long a thing of mystery and conjecture. Diaz named it the Cape of Storms: but (on their return in December, 1487), his delighted patron, King John, re-christened it the Cape of Good Hope.

It was naturally the ardent desire of John II to complete his great undertaking with a voyage to India itself. The necessary plans were laid; travellers were sent to explore the Niger, Abyssinia (the kingdom of Prester John), Malabar, and all the regions of Africa now within reach of Portuguese ships. But an illness which lasted until his death in 1495, together with the political situation in Portugal, prevented him from witnessing this consummation. It was not until Saturday, 8th July 1497, that Vasco da Gama, who had been commissioned by the new King, Manuel, held vigils with his captains in the house of Our Lady of Belem before setting forth on the morrow. The departure from Lisbon is vividly depicted by the historian,

Osorio. 'Weeping and lamentation was made by so many that it seemed that funeral rites were being performed. For some spoke thus "See whither covetousness and ambition are carrying away these wretched men! Could a more severe punishment be found for them, even had they confessed the most horrible crime? For they have to cross over the immense width of the ocean, and to overcome with most perilous hardships the enormous waves, and in innumerable places meet with risk to their lives." . . . Such, and many like discoveries they held, since fear compelled them to imagine everything sadder than it was.'

The famous voyage which ensued, down the coast to the Cape, up to Mosambique and Mombasa and then across to Calicut in the South of India (probably reached on 21 May 1498), was an epoch-making event. At long last, Europeans had outflanked the Moslem barrier and reached the coveted riches of the Far East. For Portugal it was the end of the Age of Discovery and the dawn of an age of commercial empire. Nevertheless, the event as a personal achievement of Da Gama must not be over-estimated. A man of indomitable purpose, he undoubtedly carried out a great task in the face of storms and mutinies. But he cannot rank with Columbus or Magellan. Da Gama reaped where previous generations had sown. His pilots on that voyage included men who had previously rounded the Cape with Bartholomew Diaz; his crews were of his own nationality; and finally he himself carried out a plan devised and prepared by the initiative of others. On the other hand, Christopher Columbus and Ferdinand Magellan struck out across completely unknown oceans and found new continents unguessed at; their crews (unlike Da Gama's) were not of their country and suspected them accordingly; and instead of carrying out a ready-made scheme, they devised their own and then spent years in persistent pleading for the necessary support. In personal character too Da Gama compares somewhat unfavourably with his two great contemporaries. The humanity and idealism in the complex nature of Columbus and the headstrong chivalry of Magellan show a finer temper than can be found in Da Gama, solely intent as he was on commercial gain and capable on occasion of barbarous ferocity.

'It was in Portugal', wrote Ferdinand Columbus, 'that the Admiral (his father) began to think, that if men could sail so far south, one might also sail west and find lands in that quarter.' Until

recent years it was universally held that the lands which Columbus sought by sailing west were the Cathay and Cipangu of Marco Polo. A modern school headed by M. Henri Vignaud, has brought forward a very strong case to show that Columbus had no such sweeping intention; that all he hoped to discover was an intermediate country, a stepping-stone of which there existed vague and legendary accounts. Having reached San Salvador and Cuba, his vivid imagination convinced him that the voyage—far longer than he had anticipated—had brought him to Cathay, the famous country of the Grand Khan. From that, it was no great step to asserting (and believing) on his return that the East Indies had been his objective from the outset. In support of this contention, it is pointed out that he calculated that land would be discovered seven hundred leagues west of the Canaries and that only with the greatest difficulty were his crews persuaded to go beyond that limit. He so calculated because of traditions which he had heard of land being found by the Northmen, and by subsequent bewildered seamen blown far to the west. Furthermore, it is urged that this legend of an attempt to find China by way of the west gained little credence until Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas had produced the forged Toscanelli letters.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the opponents of this view show that the idea of re-establishing contact with the Far East by a western route had long been maturing in Europe, and was in the fifteenth century a general topic of discussion both among seamen and geographical theorists. John Cabot entertained exactly the same idea and at the same period. When he at last obtained a ship, the *Matthew* of Bristol, and discovered Newfoundland in 1497, he was equally confident that Cathay had been found; so much so that in the following year he sailed with five ships laden with cargoes suitable for oriental trade. As for Columbus's expectation of a landfall within 700 leagues of the Canaries, it is pointed out that geographers of that period underestimated the globe's circumference and also held a grossly exaggerated idea of the west-to-east length of Asia and therefore narrowed down the intervening sea-area in proportion. According to one theorist China was only a few days sail from Europe. If Columbus had nothing more in mind than the discovery of adjacent land in the Atlantic, the existence of which was suspected, why was his project treated as that of a madman by John II of

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 55-7.

Portugal, who was himself planning at that very time a far more distant project?<sup>1</sup>

A third explanation seems possible. Columbus, saturated as he was with Polo's tales of Cathaian splendour, set out with the deliberate intention of eventually reaching that source of wealth which all Europe was hoping for. But having regard to the numerous legends of Atlantis, lost but occasionally sighted, he planned to reach that country after a short sail, refresh and hearten his crews there, and then (with half the journey to Cathay accomplished) persuade them to proceed. But when Atlantis failed to materialize, and the distance mounted higher and higher until more than 3,000 leagues had been run, he became convinced that his first objective had been missed. China was being reached in one stride instead of two.<sup>2</sup>

Whether he sought for Cathay or America, the fact remains that when Columbus on the morning of August 3rd, 1492, set sail from Palos with three small ships, the *Pinta*, the *Santa Maria*, and the *Nina*, he was about to destroy for ever the terrifying legends of the 'Sea of Darkness' which had cowed and isolated Europe. His enterprise was in very truth 'a leap in the dark', far surpassing the

<sup>1</sup> It is also noteworthy that King John had himself sent a Portuguese fleet to find Cathay by the north-east passage round the north coast of Asia, which eventually returned after discovering Nova Zembla.

<sup>2</sup> Many modern scholars also assert that Columbus's conviction that he had reached the borders of Asia was not shared by his contemporaries. Everybody except himself, it is held, realized that it was a new world that he had discovered, and it was not until half-a-century after his death (when the so-called Toscanelli letters had been concocted) that the legend of a search for a road to the Indies by the west obtained some credence. This view would seem to be discredited by a new piece of evidence which has come to light. In 1923 a map of the world by Contarini, dated 1506, was discovered, which, being prior to that of Waldseemüller (1507) and that of Ruysch (1508) is the first-known printed map to indicate the discoveries of Columbus. This *mappa mundi* (reproduced below to face p. 128) shows no land beyond Cuba, but a wide sea offering an open passage to Cipangu and Cathay. Furthermore, the following inscription is inserted:— 'Christophorus Columbus Vicerex Hispanie occidente versus navigans post multos labores et pericula pervenit ad insulas Hispanas (i. e. the West Indies) dein illinc solvens navigavit ad provincia appellata Ciamba (the old Kingdom of Champa next to Cochin China); postea contulit se in hunc locum qui ud (*sic*) ipse Christophorus diligentiss: rerum marittimarum pscrutator asserit habet vim auri maximam.' Thus, as Mr. Heawood points out (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. lxii, pp. 279-93) Columbus's own view that he had reached the extreme shores of Asia was accepted without question, by some at least, in the year of the great navigator's death.

patient southward plodding of the Portuguese. During his early voyages about the Mediterranean and the Black Sea he came in contact with sailors of many nations who told strange tales of the sea, of the dream islands of Saint Brandan and others. Gradually there formed in his mind the idea which came the dominant impulse for the rest of his life. The earth was round; the East could be found by the West; and that with comparative ease, for was it not universally accepted that only one-seventh of the globe was covered by the waters? But Portuguese and Spanish savants, full of knowledge and devoid of originality, confounded him with learned arguments. The man was an ignorant fanatic. Finally, after heart-breaking delays, the requisite authority and financial assistance was provided by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and the Continent of America was discovered.<sup>1</sup>

Once the initial step had been taken, extended discovery, and then conquest rapidly followed. Columbus himself in his second expedition (1493-6) explored the lesser Antilles, in 1498 traced the coast of Trinidad and what is now Venezuela on the Main, and finally in 1503 the coast of Central America from Honduras to the Isthmus of Panama. In the meantime an unknown navigator had followed the line of North America from Florida to the vicinity of Cape Hatteras, while Cabral, Alonzo de Ojeda, and Amerigo Vespucci opened up a great part of the northern coast of South America. Finally the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, seeking to find that route to the Orient which Columbus and Cabot failed to do, led a Spanish expedition in 1519-22 round the southern extremity of South America and across the Pacific to the East Indies, where he himself and many of his followers were killed in a battle with the natives. The survivors reached home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, thus circumnavigating the globe. The South American route, which he had discovered was too dangerous for commerce; but his great voyage led to Spanish penetration of the Pacific by the Isthmus of Panama. The penetration into the interior of South

<sup>1</sup> Vignaud shows that there is no evidence for the story of Bartholomew Columbus having visited the English Court and of having secured (though too late) the patronage of Henry VII for his brother's project. In any case, England was not yet ready for overseas expansion. The gold of Mexico and Peru would have diverted the English from the creation of real wealth by trade and from the building of real empire by settling and tilling the soil.

America, the sweeping victories of Pizarro and Cortez over the Aztecs and the vast Spanish Empire which resulted, are not within the scope of the present survey.

Europe, then, at the opening of the sixteenth century was in process of fundamental change. From being a group of closely related communities held between two apparently impassable barriers, she was splitting under the individualistic influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation into separate nation-states, which jostled and fought, as they developed the new sea-paths which had been opened for them. As Spain and Portugal strove with England and Holland, and England in later time with France, they all contributed to a wider movement—the world supremacy of European civilization. Whether it will survive is an open question. It is at any rate certain that this outward impetus has profoundly modified its character.

Meantime, while Spain and Portugal were dividing the known world between them, two new maritime powers were in the making, namely, England and Holland. The rise and fall of the latter will claim our attention when tracing European expansion in India and the East Indies. In the west, England was the first to challenge the monopoly claimed by the Spanish Colossus. But the spirit which called forth that challenge was only evolved by slow and fitful stages. During the later Middle Ages, this country was a second-class power in Europe, with her foreign trade almost entirely in the hands of Easterlings and Venetians. The rule of the Tudors coincided and identified itself with a gradual but vital change in the organization and outlook of English society. The decline of a self-seeking feudal aristocracy, the rise of a merchant 'middle' class, growing rapidly rich with the development of the woollen industry, and the belated but powerful influence of the Renaissance, all played a part in moulding a virile nationalism. It was long, however, before the new spirit seriously turned to express itself in overseas expansion. The early voyages under Henry VII and Henry VIII were nothing more than the sporadic ventures of a small knot of enthusiasts.

As already noticed, John Cabot, a Venetian<sup>1</sup> who had settled in Bristol, conceived the same idea as that of Columbus—the finding of Cathay by the West. After long delay a patent was granted to

<sup>1</sup> He was born in Genoa, but became a naturalized Venetian.

him and his sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanchez in 1496, giving them authority to sail with five ships and to set up the royal standard on any land which they might find unoccupied by a Christian prince. They were given exclusive privileges of trade with the natives, and in return were required to bring their cargoes to Bristol and pay one-fifth of the profits to the Crown. Unfortunately, only the most meagre records of the ensuing voyage have come down to us. Setting sail from Bristol about the beginning of May, 1497, with his son Sebastian and eighteen mariners on board one ship, John Cabot on June 24th reached the coast of Labrador which he named *Prima Vista*.<sup>1</sup> A neighbouring island was called Saint John in commemoration of the day. A few remarks about the country and the fisheries make up the tale of what is known about this voyage, which in the light of subsequent history was as decisive an event as the discovery of San Salvador. On returning to England, Cabot was rewarded with ten pounds from the privy purse—a striking contrast to the honours heaped upon Columbus. As Doyle has remarked: ‘the dramatic splendour of the one reception, the prosaic mercantile character of the other, represent the different tempers in which Spain and England approached the task of American discovery.’<sup>2</sup>

Convinced that he had reached the outlying parts of the Grand Khan’s territory, John Cabot sailed again in the following year determined to find Cathay itself. In his vain endeavour he seems to have explored a considerable part of the North American coast, but to his bitter disappointment the wild scenery and the Red Indians bore no resemblance to the luxurious civilization of Xanadu. Disillusionment regarding Cathay was dawning upon the minds of Englishmen, as it had already possessed those of Spain. Henceforward the aim of Sebastian Cabot and his fellow adventurers was to find a passage round the north-west of this great intervening island. The heroic exploits in this direction were foredoomed to

<sup>1</sup> Doyle and many other writers, confusing this expedition with that of Sebastian Cabot to the North-West, state erroneously that John Cabot took with him in 1497 *two* ships and *three hundred* men. Cabot’s enterprise was a much more daring thing than that of Columbus, for the explorer with only one ship was taking more than twice the risk of the man with two or more ships.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Doyle, *The English in America* (London 1882), vol. i, p 32.

failure; but they were by no means wasted effort. In that hard school English seamen were trained and toughened to challenge their rivals in the South.

During the reign of Henry VII and the earlier part of that of Henry VIII, England was still in obedience to the Papal authority, and was too weak to flout the maritime power of Spain, even if she had wished to do so; consequently there was little disposition to fall foul of either Spain or of the Pope by defying the Bull which declared the West a Spanish monopoly. Portugal was jealously guarding her route to the East by the Cape; Spain had missed the mark, but had found another treasure-house in Mexico and Peru. English adventurers, therefore, confined their efforts to reaching the coveted goal by a way of their own. There is evidence of a series of voyages to Newfoundland during the years of 1500 and 1505, of which the only tangible result seems to have been the appearance in London of sundry hawks, wild-cats, and a few unfortunate natives. The reign of Henry VIII was a period of development at home rather than of enterprise abroad. Comparatively secure from disorder at home and respected abroad, the nation was rapidly expanding its trade and its ideas. Medieval views and institutions were crumbling before those of a new age. At the same time Henry Tudor was engaged on one of the few of his activities which had a constructive value for the future. He was building an efficient fleet and training a generation of mariners. It is not too much to say that but for him Elizabethan seamanship would not have existed. The outcome was a marked change in public opinion respecting overseas adventure. Writers such as Robert Thorne (1527) evince a new spirit. The future of the nation would depend on sea-power: if England would outrival Spain, she must adopt her methods. The command of the ocean routes was the basis not only of wealth, but of empire. Gradually this more ambitious view found concrete expression. The disastrous voyages of Rut and Albert de Prado in 1527 and of Master Hore in 1536 to the north-west were followed by extensive expeditions to the Newfoundland fisheries and equally regular trips to the Guinea coast for gold and ivory. Trade to the Levant too from London, Southampton, and Bristol had developed even earlier. The national appetite for wealth thus whetted gave rise to a more ambitious scheme.

Attracted by the new impetus, the aged Sebastian Cabot returned

from Spain and was created in 1549 Grand Pilot of England. Four years later he appears at the head of a company for the discovery of a north-east passage. Baulked in the West, English adventurers hoped to find their outlet by Nova Zembla. The ensuing voyage (1553) of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor is deservedly famous. Sir Hugh and his men were frozen to death in a Lapland river, but Chancellor made his way to the court of Moscow, thus opening up an important trade with Russia. Thereafter, under the auspices of the Muscovy Company, annual voyages were made to the Slav Empire.

On the accession of Elizabeth however, European politics again turned English attention to the West. The religious factor had come to the fore. Mary's persecution had accomplished what Edward VI had failed to effect, the conversion of the bulk of Englishmen to Protestantism. Ringed about by foreign foes who compassed the destruction of Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical system, the nation came to regard allegiance to Catholicism as synonymous with political treachery. The cause of true religion as well as that of England's safety demanded war to the death with Spain, at once the obstacle to maritime expansion and the champion of the counter-Reformation. A lust for wealth and power and an equally passionate crusading spirit against 'the thumb screw and the rack' are inextricably interwoven in the motives of the Elizabethans. The importance of the long sea-duel leading up to the Armada is not merely that English confidence mounted steadily higher and the traditional awe of Spain declined with each successive encounter, but also that a sea-sense developed and a familiarity with the New World, without which the colonization of the seventeenth century would have been impossible.

The position of England as a world power was built up by a variety of exploits which, at first sight, have little in common. Yet Hawkins's slave-trading voyages to Spanish America, the persistent efforts to find Cathay by Labrador, Drake's sack of Nombre De Dios and Valparaiso, and Raleigh's empire-building projects to Virginia and Guiana, are successive chords in a rising crescendo of one and the same movement. Sir John Hawkins was a trader seeking large profits, but his reckless daring in distant seas paved the way for other projects which had larger aims. Similarly, the search for a north-west passage was in itself devoid of practical utility, but it

trained a generation of expert and hardy seamen and opened up the road to future settlement in North America.

This deeper significance of the north-west project may be detected in the aims of its great champion, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Scholar, soldier, and administrator, he like his half-brother Raleigh, gradually developed a far-reaching scheme which absorbed him for the rest of his life. About the year 1566 he presented a memorial to the Queen which proposed a voyage to discover China by the north-west, to open up trade with that country, *and to establish English colonies in the intervening regions*. The project was not immediately put to practical test; but Gilbert constantly brooded upon it. Some years later he produced his famous *Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-West to Cataya*. It has been included in the present collection as an admirable illustration of the sixteenth-century manner of thinking in regard to overseas adventure. Its mixture of medieval credulity with a new spirit of enthusiastic vigour and disregard of practical difficulties is characteristic of the age. It is a point of view which must be thoroughly entered into if the inwardness of the Elizabethans would be understood. They were uncritical and credulous because the dramatic lifting of the veil had revealed wonders more wonderful than the ancient legends themselves. They combined religious ardour with a craving for material wealth because of the spiritual and economic conditions at home. They were sanguine and uncalculating because they came of a generation which was flushed with dazzling success and temporarily forgetful of human limitation.

All these characteristics are discernable in the voyages of Gilbert and Frobisher, which may be summed up as being heroic but unpractical. Frobisher was an expert seaman and a stern disciplinarian who spent fifteen years advocating the north-west passage. Aided by the ideas and money of Michael Lok, he at last gained the requisite authorization, and in 1576 set forth in a little vessel of only twenty-five tons. After passing by the Greenland coast, he steered a course north-west towards the channel now known as Hudson's Straits. This, however, was passed unnoticed. An inlet was found farther north which was thought to be the passage to the east. Hastening home with the news, the voyagers were received with great honour and their captive Esquimau with gaping admiration; and when some specimens of black ore, which they had brought,



AN ASTROLABE OF 1574

This, with the quadrant, was the chief instrument of early navigation





were found to be rich in gold a much greater stir was created. Men of every type clamoured for a further prosecution of the enterprise; Cathay could be ignored if such riches could be obtained in regions nearer home. The upshot was the incorporation of a company in March 1577, and the setting out of Frobisher's second voyage a month later. 'Frobisher's Straits' were explored and several dangerous encounters with the Esquimaux took place; and then the three ships *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Aid* took their several ways home. When the news spread that Frobisher was back again with 200 tons of gold ore in his holds, excitement ran high. Even the refiners' report that the ore was 'poor in respect of that brought last year' failed to chill the general enthusiasm. The shareholders determined to continue with a third, and much larger expedition, which was already in preparation. The ensuing venture of 1578, when Frobisher sailed with a fleet of fifteen ships under orders to plant a colony on '*Meta Incognita*' and to collect two thousand tons of ore, was a pitiable business. Ice-floes, storms, and mutinies constantly threatened disaster. The idea of colonization was abandoned; and when the fleet straggled home and its cargo of ore was found to be worthless pyrites, the previous enthusiasm was changed to scorn and recrimination. The chimera of gold in Labrador was definitely destroyed: the Cathay Company broke up in complete disillusionment. The original idea, however, of reaching the Indies lingered on in fitful bursts of activity, as witness the three voyages of John Davis (1585-7), the attempt of Waymouth (1603), and the expedition of Henry Hudson (1610). By that time, however, the English East India Company had established itself on the much more attractive route by the Cape of Good Hope.

The moral of Frobisher's disastrous undertakings was evidently not lost upon Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who henceforward turned his attention from the wealth of the Orient to the second consideration laid down in his *Discourse*—the founding of settlements in North America. Gilbert has been justly described as 'the father of English colonization', and it is primarily on that count that he is known to fame. Just as the Cabots, Rut, Hore, and Frobisher were pioneers in Arctic exploration, so was Gilbert in a more advanced stage of national expansion: nevertheless a pioneer, not a successful founder of colonies. He was full of that fire and dash and imagination which is requisite for the breaking of new ground; but he was equally

lacking in experience and prosaic attention to detail which is called for in the work of consolidation. It was as much his own incapacity in preventing quarrels among his officers as the Privy Council's fear of Spain that brought disaster to his colonizing expedition in 1578. The second attempt of 1583 even more clearly reveals his defects in leadership and organization. It was a glorious and inspiring thing for Gilbert to exclaim, 'We are as near heaven by sea as by land', when on the point of death by drowning: it was indeed 'a speech well becoming a soldier in Jesus Christ'. But the Pilgrim Fathers would not have given valuable ship-room to morris dancers and hobby horses, valuable as they were for purposes of relaxation; nor would they have entrusted the arduous task of building an ordered community in a wilderness to thieves and cut-throats. Indeed to expect such fore-knowledge would be absurd. Gilbert the knight-errant led the way in a totally new direction. It was for the men who followed with axe and spade to turn his dream to reality.

The emergence, however, of two great ideas had yet to take place: the mastery of the sea and the conception of empire. To Francis Drake more than to any other one man the inculcation of the former idea was due; that of the latter to Walter Raleigh. When it is remembered that Drake was brought up as a boy in the navy yard at Gillingham to the sound of ships' hammers and the stern curses of a Puritan father who had suffered ruin in the Marian persecution, that as a young man he witnessed the atrocities of Spanish tyranny in the Low Countries, his dual character as a Protestant crusader and a plundering sea-rover becomes more understandable. The glamour of his deeds had become a fairy tale even before his death, but he left to posterity something much more solid than glamour. His reckless scheme in 1572 of striking a blow at the very heart of Spanish power in the New World was a turning-point in European history. In that year Elizabeth's position was one of extreme peril. The Papal Bull of excommunication and the Ridolfi Plot seemed to indicate the imminence of a general crusade from within and without on behalf of Mary Stuart. Tension with Spain too, had been heightened by the Queen's action in 'taking care' of Alva's treasure ship. Just at the moment when England's collapse before the might of Spain appeared to be inevitable, the daring raids of Drake (smarting from Spanish treachery at La Hacha) and a number

of other buccaneers induced Elizabeth to defend herself by attack.<sup>1</sup> Drake's consequent storming of Nombre de Dios, the treasure house of the world, the attack on the gold mule-trains at Panama, his first sight of the Pacific, and return to Plymouth laden with plunder, constitute one of the most dramatic episodes in all history. Its effect on the national morale was immediate. Once for all it had been demonstrated that Englishmen had nothing to fear from Spain on the high seas.

Yet, strictly speaking, Drake was no better than a common pirate who had wantonly attacked a peaceful neighbour. The counter-argument that Philip II's successive attempts to have Elizabeth murdered constituted an act of war was convincing enough to the plain man. But Burleigh and the peace-party, who on Drake's return in 1573, were in the ascendant, rightly considered that war with Spain at that moment was madness. Several more turns of the political kaleidoscope therefore took place before Drake was allowed to enter upon the next stage of the revolutionary policy. For four years Elizabeth juggled, sometimes with real sagacity and insight, at others actuated by sheer caprice. On one occasion Don John of Austria's intrigues with Mary Stuart almost precipitated matters, but the Queen veered round again, quarrelled with Parliament, and to Walsingham's despair threatened to betray the Prince of Orange. In desperation the war-party then determined to use Drake as an instrument to force her to war. Sir Christopher Hatton won her over, Burleigh was carefully kept in the dark,<sup>2</sup> and on 15 November 1577 Drake set sail for the Golden Sea, and, as it turned out, to circumnavigate the globe.

The effect of that famous voyage<sup>3</sup> was to fan to fiercer life the national spirit of resistance and also to inaugurate a revolution in naval strategy. On his return, however, more hesitation and delay occurred before Drake was free to continue his great scheme. At last in 1585 his theory that the Spanish power could not only be

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable, however, that Drake was not specially commissioned by the Government at this time as many of his biographers assert. He was simply one of about a dozen raiders to the Caribbean who were allowed to go their own way. Drake only became famous after his return from Nombre de Dios.

<sup>2</sup> It is thought (though not conclusively proved) that Burleigh got wind of the scheme and arranged with Doughty, one of the adventurers, to secure the failure of the expedition. (Cf. introductory note, p. 192 below.)

<sup>3</sup> Printed below, pp. 195-227.

harassed but definitely broken by any one who held command of the sea was amply vindicated. The chivalry of Spain watched in impotent rage when he chose to anchor his fleet in Vigo Bay; Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands was laid in ashes; San Domingo in Hispaniola was stormed; and by employment of skilful and daring tactics the great city of Carthagená was taken. But for the prevalence of fever the campaign would have been crowned by an onslaught on Panama itself. In fact Spanish America was in panic and at his mercy. As a result the Bank of Seville broke and Philip's finance was temporarily paralysed. Spain as a world power had been checked in its fullest prime. Small wonder then that the new method of naval warfare came as a revelation.

Three years later another side of the new policy found expression. When the Armada sailed up the Channel in faultless order and with dauntless courage, Drake's swift mobile tactics more than compensated for the English inferiority in weight and numbers and saved the country from invasion. Later the man himself was neglected, and the old servility to Spain returned with the accession of James Stuart. But England had been fired by his great dream of naval supremacy, and men such as Cromwell, Blake, and the heroes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw that it was not forgotten.

Out of the long crescendo of maritime enterprise from John Cabot in 1497 to the great duel of 1588 came two great results—the gradual expansion of world-trade and the building of an overseas empire. Drake's capture of the great Portuguese Carack, the *San Felipe*, with papers that revealed all the important secrets of Spanish trade in the East Indies, thus leading to the formation of the East India Company, was a lucky chance. But it was only an outstanding example of a general process. Similarly, the fact that English mariners had lost the old superstitious terror of distant seas and were intimately acquainted with the American coast led to a continuous succession of colonizing projects to those regions. As already remarked, the great pioneer of this conception of empire was Sir Walter Raleigh. 'In his virtues and in his faults', it has been said, 'in his brilliance and in his limitations, in his greatness and in his defects, Walter Raleigh is the very type of Elizabeth's England.'<sup>1</sup> Like Drake he imbibed from the men of Devon and the Low Coun-

<sup>1</sup> A. D. Innes, *Ten Tudor Statesmen* (London, 1906), p. 361.

tries the spirit of a crusader and a buccaneer. To these qualities he added many more of a very different order. Under the influence of his half-brothers, Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert, who were philosophers as well as soldiers and explorers, and of friends such as Edmund Spenser he developed the mind of a scholar and a far-seeing statesman. 'He always laboured', wrote a contemporary, 'at the matter in hand as if he were born only for that.' Therein lay the secret of his fame. His defects, his selfish ambition and arrogance, are equally clear. The very facility, too, with which he made his mark as adventurer, statesman, poet, historian, and scientist, prevented him from going far enough in any one of these directions. He was brilliant in all, but pre-eminent in none. His lasting contribution to posterity was a practical demonstration that England's future lay in colonization built up on a foundation of sea power. He thus took up the idea of Gilbert and moulded it into a comprehensive policy for which he lived and for which he eventually died. When he wrote of Virginia, 'I shall yet live to see yt an Englishe Nation', he was giving form to a conception which has dominated succeeding generations.

Raleigh's attempts to found the colony of Virginia are part of the main thread of his life. In 1584 he obtained a patent to colonize and rule any unoccupied lands which he might discover. The careful and practical preparations which were then made indicate how much more fitted he was than Gilbert to undertake the task. After a preliminary reconnaissance by Arthur Barlow and Philip Amidas, a fleet of seven ships with 107 settlers on board was sent out on 13 May 1585 under Sir Richard Grenville who was to establish the settlement and then leave it in charge of Ralph Lane. Unfortunately the adventurers were either gentry 'of a nice bringing up', who expected the comforts of city life in a primeval forest, or gold-hunters who would not face the drudgery of tillage. Their situation became still more precarious when troubles with the Red Indians developed. The arrival of Drake on his way back from the Spanish Main seemed to be a sign from heaven, and the despairing colonists gladly accepted his offer of a passage home. Three days after their departure Sir Richard Grenville with the long-awaited supply of ships dropped anchor at Roanoke.

But Raleigh himself was undaunted, especially after hearing Lane's encouraging report of the country's fertility. In the following year

(1587) a second batch of settlers 150 strong, was sent out under John White. They were no mere band of stray adventurers, but a little commonwealth of carefully selected men. Yet disaster was again encountered in spite of Raleigh's dogged persistence. On the eve of the Armada he secured a special licence for the dispatch of three supply ships. They sailed, but the crews turned pirate and eventually came back to England without having seen Virginia. When at last in 1590 a relief force did arrive, the colonists had disappeared, having been massacred by the Indians. The colonization of Virginia was temporarily at an end. Until his imprisonment in 1602, Raleigh never lost hope of finding his lost settlers, and sent no less than four expeditions in search of them. Before his death, however, success was achieved, though by other hands than his. He lived to see it 'an Englishe Nation'.

In view of the misfortunes encountered in Virginia, it is not surprising that Raleigh transferred his ambitious schemes to the more attractive region of Guiana. How he became obsessed with the legend of Eldorado, the gilded king, living in splendour by the Manoa Lake has often been described. But it is sometimes forgotten—perhaps because of the tragic gold-hunt in 1617—that the earlier enterprise aimed at the acquisition of a vast empire. Just as Spanish magnificence was derived from Mexico and Peru, so Raleigh hoped that English power could be similarly enlarged in this great region which was as yet unoccupied by Europeans. If the dazzling wealth of the Incas was sober fact, why not Eldorado? Mercifully the legend of Manoa was a delusion, and English enterprise was not diverted from the solid worth of real settlement to a demoralizing search for gold. Raleigh therefore was on dangerous ground when he adopted the role of a conquistador; but his visit to the little known Orinoco produced useful and far-reaching results. Not only did his example inspire a succession of heroic enterprises, which sought not gold, but a home in Guiana,<sup>1</sup> but as the last of the great Elizabethans he gathered up the lessons taught by his contemporaries, enlarged them by his far-sightedness and practical experiments and so broadened the mental horizon of his countrymen who followed after.

While a Latin and an Anglo-Saxon America were thus coming

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. A. Williamson, *The English in Guiana* (Oxford, 1923.)

into existence, European commerce was rapidly developing in the Far East. On the return of Vasco da Gama to Lisbon in 1499 the Portuguese determined to seize the vast Moslem trading system on the Malabar coast, in the 'Spice Islands', and the ports of China of which he had told them. The task was accomplished by a series of armed expeditions. The first stage was reached by the occupation of Cochin, Cananor, and Calicut, followed by the expulsion of the Arabs from their East African ports by Francisco de Almeida. More extensive operations were conducted by the famous Affonso de Albuquerque, who, after defeating the Moslems in a naval battle, established his head-quarters at Goa, and in 1511 captured the great depot of Malacca, thus mastering the sea trade-route to China. Finally the capture of the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf effectively cut off Arab commerce from the Orient, and Portuguese supremacy was completed by the occupation of Bombay and Ceylon and the control of the Moluccas. The incredible wealth of the Indian Seas now poured westward not by Arab ships and caravans, but along the Cape route to a little nation in Europe. We have travelled far from the early days when a few Christian merchants, greatly daring, ventured into the Levant to buy the 'leavings' of Eastern trade from the Saracen conquerors.

Portugal, however, was a tiny nation, and had entered upon an inheritance too great for her. The long sea-voyages and the inevitable collisions with native races took fearful toll of her limited manhood. The realization of weakness led to fear, and fear to barbarous cruelty. The knowledge that their administration was rotten at the core encouraged the Dutch and English to challenge the Portuguese monopoly at an early stage. That the challenge should come from other nations crowding in upon the heels of the pioneers, and that the monopoly, weakly held, should collapse, was inevitable from the first.

The history of European expansion in the Far East during the seventeenth century largely consists of the duel between the merchants of England and Holland, the result of which was to leave the trade of the East Indies entirely to the Dutch, and a large part of that of India to the English. The aims of both were as purely commercial as those of the Portuguese whom they supplanted.

During the sixteenth century, when the Netherlands were part of the Hapsburg dominions, the Dutch had become the sea-carriers

between Spain and the rest of Europe. The silks and spices brought to south-west Europe were purchased by Dutch traders who, in exchange, sold such products of the Baltic as were in request there. When the Netherlands revolted against Spanish sovereignty the trade continued for some time in spite of patriotic protests. In 1580, however, Philip II seized the throne of Portugal, thus securing control of her colonies and shipping, and four years later closed Lisbon to the Dutch. By this stroke he sought to break the rebels by the ruin of their commerce.

The Dutch for their part, realized that their national existence was at stake. If Spain could maintain a strangle-hold upon their trade, armed resistance, however heroic, would be unavailing. They determined to go to the East direct and ignore the Spanish entrepôt. At first they were in the dark as to the route, and unsuccessful attempts were made to reach the goal by the north coast of Russia. One circumstance, however, saved them. Dutch sailors and pilots had been frequently employed by the Portuguese in the Oriental trade. From them the precious information was gradually collected. Cornelius de Houtman, himself a pilot in those seas, collected nautical data at Lisbon and inspired others with his own enthusiasm. Petrus Plancius, a minister of Amsterdam and an expert cartographer collected and collated information from geographical books and charts, and Jan Huygen Van Linchoten, who had lived for fifteen years in the East Indies, published in 1595 his famous *Itinerario*, which finally mapped out a detailed route thither. Thus prepared, the oldest East India Company of the Netherlands, the *Compagnie Van Verre* was formed in 1595 and dispatched under Houtman the first Dutch vessels to sail to Asia. The first expedition was not a brilliant affair, but it inspired courage and confidence. Other companies were formed in quick succession, so that in 1598 no less than sixty East Indiamen sailed from Dutch ports. The overlapping which naturally ensued would have spoilt the trade had not some form of amalgamation taken place. On the 20th of March 1602, the various companies were merged by the States-General into the General Dutch Chartered East India Company.

It has been often and rightly remarked that this company was merely the Dutch State organized for purposes of trade. Although the control exercised by the States-General rapidly dwindled to mere formality, the merchant princes who ruled the one were the

leading spirits of the other.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch Company was always vigorously supported by the Government and by public opinion. As we shall see, the corresponding English company was viewed with jealousy by the other English traders and was either neglected or exploited by the Crown.

As soon as contact had been established, Dutch penetration into the Asian Archipelago was rendered the more rapid in that they were able to pose to the natives as deliverers from the corruption and tyranny of the Portuguese. Moreover, the latter, unsupported from home now that Philip III of Spain was master there, offered a feeble resistance. In 1605 Van der Haghen, who had previously concluded an exclusive treaty with the Hitoese of Amboyna, occupied the Portuguese fortress there without a blow, thus securing the key position between the rich Moluccas and Malacca. A sea-fight in the following year in the Straits of Malacca virtually put an end to Portuguese power. One by one their factories fell into the hands of the more vigorous Dutch. When Batavia had been built on the Straits between Sumatra and Java, and Malacca had at last been captured (1641), they held all the avenues to the Eastern Seas. At the same time a monopoly of the trade with Japan was secured.

Once the Dutch were masters they forgot their former role and proceeded to terrorize the natives after the manner of their predecessors. The race which had won the admiration of Europe for its heroic defence of Protestantism at home, evinced no desire to spread the light in the islands. They sought for spices, not Christians: and woe betide the unfortunate native who dared to trade with an interloper. Spice trees were ruthlessly cut down to maintain the selling price. The degradation of the Asiatic by the white trader

<sup>1</sup> The organization of the Dutch Company was as follows: The local management was in the hands of a board of Directors (*Bewindhebbers*), who were chosen from the chief shareholders and were often styled *Heeren Majores* or 'Our Masters'. These were distributed in the various cities where 'chambers' were established—at Amsterdam, Middleburgh, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuisen. The general management was entrusted to the famous '*Heeren XVII*', consisting of managers deputed by the respective Chambers on a basis of proportional representation. The central executive appointed senior officials to represent the Company in the East Indies. From 1610 administration on the spot was confided to a Governor-General assisted by a Council, who ruled the various provinces through deputy-Governors.

from now onwards reveals the darker side of European expansion overseas. It is the side which is chiefly responsible for what is now called the Colour Problem.

Meantime another European nation, the English, were pushing their way into the Eastern Seas. As already noticed, the defeat of the Armada and the capture of the *San Filippe* with its valuable information in the following year encouraged the merchants of London to venture into Portuguese preserves and seek Oriental trade by the Cape. In 1591 James Lancaster sailed from Plymouth with three ships and after a long and wearisome voyage reached Ceylon. Two rich Portuguese prizes were taken, but disease and mutiny compelled Lancaster to make for home, which was reached by way of the Cape and the West Indies in 1594. So terrible had been the loss of life that only twenty-five out of one hundred and ninety-eight saw England again, but the rich plunder obtained was a visible sign that the Portuguese 'trespassers will be prosecuted' had been successfully defied and could be so again. The formation of the English East India Company on the last day of the sixteenth century was a natural consequence.

In almost every respect the English adventurers were at a disadvantage as compared with their Dutch rivals. By 1602 the various Dutch companies had been amalgamated into a great national corporation. The English body, on the other hand, was a 'regulated' Company, each venture being arranged independently by a body of individual subscribers who divided the profits among themselves. Even when in 1612 all resources were pooled in a joint stock, the adventurers were merely a section of the merchants of London, unsupported by the rest of the nation or by the new Sovereign, James I. The Dutch, for their part, having preceded the English in the East, and having invested far more capital in the trade, regarded the latter according to the mercantilist theories of the age as interlopers, and themselves as the inheritors of the Portuguese monopoly. But as long as the Northern Netherlands were still fighting against Spain and Portugal was the common enemy in the Indian Seas, the rival nations traded side by side. The well-known voyage of Lancaster in 1601-3<sup>1</sup> was responsible for the opening of a lucrative spice trade with Achin and the Moluccas and the establishment of the first English factory at Bantam. Soon afterwards English enterprise

<sup>1</sup> Printed below, pp. 263-89.

began to extend to India itself at the expense of the Portuguese. The first collision took place at Surat. As the result of a voyage thither in 1608, the English tried to secure a commercial treaty with the Mogul Governor of Gujarat, but Portuguese influence frustrated the attempt until a fierce naval battle in 1612 broke their power in that region. The English then established under imperial protection



The early factory at Surat, 1638, from Von Mandelso's account of his travels in the East (1658 ed.)

a factory at Surat, from which eventually developed the Presidency of Bombay. After a further naval defeat at the hands of Captains Thomas Best and Nicholas Downton in 1615, the power of the Portuguese was virtually at an end. English trade then developed rapidly. From 1625 factories were built in the Bay of Bengal; Madras—the first proprietary holding in India—was founded in 1639; Bombay was acquired by the Crown in 1661 as the dowry of Catherine of Braganza; and in 1690 Calcutta was fortified by Job Charnock. The commercial foundations had been laid upon which the English nation, after the collapse of the Mogul power, gradually, although reluctantly and with many hesitations, built a vast empire.

In India, where the Dutch interests were slight; England had

thus acquired commercial supremacy. The East Indies, however, present a very different story. Holland in the early decades of the seventeenth century was at the height of her wealth and power, 'safe at last from Spain and not yet threatened by France'. And the chief source of her greatness lay in the Spice Islands. It is not surprising therefore that the successors of James Lancaster found themselves subject to increasing hostility and insult at the hands of their powerful rivals. When Portugal dropped out as a serious competitor, friction developed into open war. The fate of the English in the East Indies then depended upon the attitude of their Government. Unwilling to squander dividends in war expenses, the Dutch opened negotiations. The opportunity was a great one. A monarch of the type of Henry VII would have used Holland's desire for support against the Hapsburgs to extract trade concessions. Unfortunately, James Stuart, confident in the sagacity of his state-craft, cared for none of these things. The East India Company was shamelessly sacrificed in the ensuing treaty (1619) and left to fend for itself. It was part of the same policy which allowed the execution of Raleigh and the decay of the Royal Navy—misdeeds which the nation neither forgot nor forgave. The result in the East Indies was a foregone conclusion. Abandoned as they were, the English merchants were maltreated, their ships were captured on the high seas, and their factories occupied one by one. The culmination was reached in 1623 with the premeditated massacre at Amboyna. The English themselves admitted that this horrible outrage was not the work of the better type of Dutchmen in the Moluccas, but it closed the door of East Indian trade nevertheless. It was left to Cromwell a generation later to secure reparation in other fields by his Navigation Act of 1651 and its enforcement by the Anglo-Dutch War which followed.

While the Hollanders were thus extending and maintaining their commerce in the Spice Islands and Japan, they were at the same time leading the way in the discovery of the unknown continent of *Terra Australis*. The idea of the globular shape of the earth was, as we have seen, slow in regaining the credence which had been accorded to it by the Greeks. When that theory was finally proved by Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation in 1520, the conviction grew that there must be a vast antipodal continent to balance the land masses of Europe with Africa, America, and Asia. This unknown 'Southland' was considered to stretch right across the Ant-

arctic, and would be found due south of the Straits of Magellan as well as the Cape of Good Hope. It is almost certain that the Portuguese during the latter part of the sixteenth century became acquainted with a large part of the Australian coastline in the course of their voyages to the East Indies, but they had the best of reasons for concealing the fact from their Spanish rivals, who were already claiming the Moluccas according to the Papal Bull. Consequently no direct evidence of the extent of their knowledge has come down to us. Curiously enough the Spaniards themselves had been searching for the Southern Continent and had come within sight of the Australian coast without knowing it. In 1567 an expedition from Peru under Alvaro de Mendaña discovered the Solomon Islands, and returned convinced that the eastern fringe of the Continent which they were seeking had been actually reached. In 1595 Alvaro set forth again with the intention of establishing a colony there. The Marquesas Islands were discovered, but owing to faulty reckonings in the previous voyage, the Solomons could not be found. Ten years later Luis de Torres explored the southern coast of New Guinea and the dangerous strait between that country and Cape York which now bears his name. The hill of Cape York he mistook for a group of islands, thus failing to realize that he had actually sighted the Southland which was attracting the attention of gold-hunters and cosmographers alike.<sup>1</sup>

That the practical discovery of Australia was the work of the Dutch was natural enough. Portugal was mistress of the eastern archipelago for too short a time and her control was too inadequate to permit of any considerable expansion into the unknown south. Spain in Peru was losing her first vigour, and moreover, the South Pacific was away from the track of her main trade routes. Indeed Dutch knowledge of the Continent would probably have long remained as fragmentary as that of the Spanish and Portuguese but for a discovery made by Hendrik Brouwer.<sup>2</sup> In 1611 he found that if

<sup>1</sup> The claim of Pedro Fernandez de Quirós to have discovered Australia (cf. the English account of his voyage, *Terra Australis Incognita, or a New Southerne Discoverie, containing a fifth part of the world*, London, 1617.) has been largely discredited by an unpublished manuscript version of Quirós's voyage, written by one of his captains, which has recently come to light.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in 1606, the yacht *Duyfken* had visited the west coast of the Cape York peninsula, and its commander William Jansz returned to Batavia under

instead of following the old route up the East African coast to Madagascar, he sailed due east for about three thousand miles immediately after doubling the Cape of Good Hope and then turned north, he could shorten the voyage to Batavia by five months. Henceforward the Dutch company ordered all their navigators to follow the new route, thus unconsciously directing the flow of their shipping to the vicinity of Western Australia. In 1616 the ship *Eendragt* of Amsterdam, with Dirk Hartog as captain, sailing farther eastward than was intended before making the northward turning, reached Shark's Bay and the island which is now named in Hartog's memory. The land of the *Eendragt* then became a definite datum point for which to steer before altering course for Java. Accordingly bit by bit the north, west, and south-west coasts of Australia were sighted, and carefully charted by Dutch traders blown out of the regular course. In 1623 the *Leeuwin* came upon the south-west extremity; in 1627 the *Gulden Seepaart* with Pieter Nuyts on board followed the south coast as far as the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis; while a year later De Wit was driven aground in the north-west.

In this manner the shape of a considerable portion of the Australian Continent became known to the Dutch, and at a time when the company was ripe for further expansion in the Pacific. The ambition of the 'Heeren XVII' at home was shared by the far-seeing Antonio van Diemen, who was Governor-General of the East Indies from 1636 to 1645. The latter's scheme was two-fold:—to discover the legendary golden islands which lay somewhere to the east of Japan, and to explore the partially known 'Southland'. Could these two sources be successfully tapped, important new knowledge would be gained and dividends enormously increased. In both ventures the most able navigator of the age, Abel Tasman, was employed.<sup>1</sup> The former project from a commercial point of view was a complete fiasco; in the latter, Tasman won undying fame and paved the way for a new phase in European expansion. His famous voyage of 1642 discovered Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) and the

the impression that he had merely explored an extension of the New Guinea coast. From this the mistaken idea that New Guinea and Australia were parts of one land mass became universal among Dutch navigators and cartographers. Even Tasman failed to prove that the latter was an island.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Introductory note to Tasman below, pp. 305-6.

west coast of New Zealand.<sup>1</sup> His second expedition in 1644 had for its object 'the further and more exact discovery, and of clearly ascertaining whether the coast of Nova Guinea and the unknown South-Land are connected together, or are divided from each other by channels;—of deciding the questions whether or not the newly discovered Van Diemen's Land forms one whole with the two great lands just mentioned, or with either of them; . . . and of finding out what other unknown islands may be situated between Nova Guinea and the South-Land, and what treasures, advantages, profitable trade-connexions and convenient passages may there be available for the benefit of the general Company'.<sup>2</sup> Sailing from Batavia he reached Torres Strait, but mistook it for a gulf, thus continuing the misconception that New Guinea and Australia were one unit. He then thoroughly explored the Gulf of Carpentaria and the North-west coast as far as 'Eendrachtsland'. Thus Tasman had in two voyages circumnavigated the hitherto unknown Southland. But the Batavian authorities were unsatisfied. What profits might be expected? Was the land productive? We intend, they recorded, 'to have everything more closely investigated by more vigilant and courageous persons than have hitherto been employed in this service; for the exploration of unknown regions can by no means be entrusted to the first comer'.<sup>3</sup> Such were the thanks accorded to Tasman for the almost complete discovery of one fifth of the world.

Yet the anxiety of the Council of India for commercial results was only a reflection of the general policy of the Dutch company. Even if the men on the spot had been animated by wider considerations than trade, their masters at home had no use for such sentiments. Soon after Van Diemen's death in 1645 a letter arrived from the Supreme Council which severely censured the Batavian authorities for wasting men and money in southern exploration. The failure to find gold in Japanese waters and the obvious sterility of Western Australia had cooled their previous ardour. Seek assured profit (they said in effect) from silks and spices; gold and silver mines are not the concern of sober business men. The short-lived era of Dutch discovery was at an end. Just as the company resolutely

<sup>1</sup> See extracts below, pp. 307-33.

<sup>2</sup> Missive of the 'Council of India' (13 Jan. 1644), quoted by Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal* (Amsterdam, 1898), p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Heeres (*ut supra*), p. 118.

refused to allow its servants to spread into South Africa from the Cape, so it decreed for the same reasons that New Holland should henceforth be nothing more than a coast line occasionally sighted by ships on their way to Java. It is easy to criticize the Dutch attitude as one of sordid money-grubbing, but it is to be remembered that the Hollanders, even if they had possessed the aptitude, lacked the necessary numbers for empire-building. They were traders pure and simple; and in all the intricate machinery of that department of activity they were supreme and the instructors of Europe.

After the departure of Tasman in 1644 Australia virtually disappeared from the ken of Europe for nearly a century and a half. The adventures of William Dampier, the gentleman-pirate, in that region are little more than a picturesque interlude. In 1688 he and his fellow buccaneers came to the conclusion that the ocean routes were getting rather too hot for them, and determined to avoid further publicity for a time by retiring to lonely Australia. Securely hidden from the world on the north-west coast, they careened their ship, mended their tackle, and after taking in fresh supplies of water sailed away again. The importance of the incident lies in the fact that Dampier, who possessed keen observation and the power of vivid expression, wrote an account of his travels on returning to England, which attracted wide interest and influential friends. The upshot was the dispatch in 1699 of the Admiralty ship *Roebuck* under Dampier's command to explore New Holland. Unfortunately the commander's desire to sail via Cape Horn was overruled in favour of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Had Dampier had his way, the eastern and more fertile side of the Continent would have been sighted instead of the dreary western coast which had disheartened the Dutch. Although four months was spent there and a thousand miles of coastline traversed nothing was seen that could attract either traders or settlers. The *Roebuck* was wrecked on the homeward voyage; and Dampier's report to the Admiralty, when he finally reached London, inevitably killed the interest which he had previously awakened.

For nearly three-quarters of a century Australia slipped back into its former isolation, with its hidden gold and vast fertile plains unguessed at. Its re-discovery was the work of James Cook. Already known as a scientific navigator of exceptional merit, he was appointed in 1768 to command an expedition to the South Pacific,

the primary purpose of which was to observe the approaching transit of Venus from the island of Otaheite. That done, he was to sail as far as 40 degrees south latitude in search not of New Holland but of a Polar continent. If no land was found in that direction he was to explore New Zealand and then return home by any route that he might choose. Sailing from Plymouth Sound on 26 August 1768, on board the *Endeavour Bark*, the expedition successfully carried out the astronomical observation in March 1769. Lieutenant Cook then discovered and visited the Society Isles, and in October sighted the east side of New Zealand. During a six months' cruise its coasts were charted with an accuracy which amazed subsequent navigators and which proved that the land consisted of two islands and formed no part (as had been previously thought) of a great Southern Continent. His next step was even more important from an historical point of view. He decided to explore the east coast of New Holland, the one side of that country which no Dutchman had ever been known to visit. In so doing he revolutionized European ideas concerning Australia. The old conception of a barren wilderness incapable of supporting any but the most degraded forms of human life was finally destroyed when Cook's account of the fertile eastern seaboard became known. After sighting land at Cape Everard on 20 April 1770 he anchored the *Endeavour* in Botany Bay ten days later. The subsequent course followed the unknown coast northward for two thousand miles, until Cape York was rounded and the disconnexion of New Guinea and Australia was demonstrated once for all. Cook then landed and formally took possession of the whole eastern coast by the name of New South Wales.

Cook's biographers have declared him to be one of the greatest navigators in history. That claim does not depend merely on the fact that he made a series of virtually important land-falls, but that he was a discoverer in a far deeper sense. On the one hand he conferred a priceless boon on ocean travellers, whether settlers or traders, by proving that the terrible scourge of scurvy which decimated every crew on a distant voyage, could be eliminated by careful diet. On the other hand he provided his countrymen with a sober and convincing picture of the fertility of New Zealand and Eastern Australia, which paved the way for the ultimate founding of two new Anglo-Saxon nations. He was perhaps the greatest of them all in that he possessed not only an indomitable perseverance, which

was characteristic of Columbus, Da Gama, and the Elizabethans, but also an aptitude for accurate and scientific methods, which enabled him to extract the maximum of useful knowledge from his discoveries.

Such then in brief is the long pageant of European expansion across the seas. From the Christian pilgrim plodding it wearily to gaze in awe at the wonders of Bethlehem to James Cook, with pig-tail and knee breeches stepping ashore at Botany Bay is a far cry, yet they and all the intervening pioneers are essentially part of the same great theme. Each in his generation bore witness to a new phase of European growth. The Norse sea-rover, fearless of storm and foe, brought terror and desolation; but he also inculcated a fiery vigour and an insatiable curiosity, which, when mingled with religious ardour, sent the chivalry of Christendom thundering at the gates of Acre and the Holy City. Jealousy, bickering, and sheer lust of plunder stained the annals of the later Crusades. But the merchants who followed in their wake to trade for silks and spices in the Levant, and the worthy friars who struggled through snowy wastes to Tartar camps in Mongolia are evidence of an abiding change. Soon forced again into utter isolation by their exclusion from the East, the Latin races evolved under the impulse of race, religion, and ancient culture, into forms profoundly different. Out of the surging clash of these elemental forces emerged national groups, each distinct, yet each rejoicing in a new-found zest for the world about them. Painters limned, and sculptors chiselled with their eyes open. Others sought to interpret the nature of God by the light of individual judgement, and in so doing plunged Europe into the Reformation. Others again were fascinated by the unknown in material things and probed into seas of darkness to find the Christians of Prester John and the gold of Cathay. The mysticism of the old world blended with the realism of the new.

Fresh outlets then created new demands; and they being satisfied produced increasing population, which in turn called for further outlets. Of its own momentum European world expansion proceeded faster and ever faster. The wealth of Asia and the Indies pouring into Europe stimulated industrial development, which necessitated continually expanding markets in order to feed the continually expanding population. Under the pressure of these economic conditions, Europe has spread by trade or colonization into

every corner of the habitable globe. Inevitably the watchword during the process has been, more than ever before, 'utility'. On the whole the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had little use for altruism in world politics, and in consequence they have left behind a legacy of gigantic problems. To-day geographical discovery is a side issue. The hidden places of the earth are within our grasp. European civilization has won to mastery. By force of arms that mastery cannot long be held. Will it continue by sheer merit of leadership? It rests with pioneers of another sort.



I

FRIAR WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK



## *Introductory Note*

WILLIAM, of the village of Rubruck in French Flanders, was a Franciscan friar about whom very little is known beyond the details of his journey to Mongolia. Neither the date of his birth or of his death have been ascertained. As we have already seen,<sup>1</sup> his acquaintance with John de Plano Carpini, Philip de Toucy, and Baldwin of Hainault had inspired him with the desire, and also supplied him with the requisite information, to undertake his missionary journey to the Eastern parts. During his stay with Louis of France in Asia Minor and Egypt, he had evidently picked up a working knowledge of Arabic and of Tartar tongues which later stood him in good stead when left to the mercy of a worthless interpreter. Bearing the unofficial letters of King Louis and a number of vestments and devotional books, he set sail probably from Acre in 1252 for Constantinople, where he was joined by his companion Friar Bartholomew of Cremona. On the 7th of May 1253, they set out from the Byzantine capital for their long journey to Mongolia, sailing on a straight course through the Black Sea to Cherson or Sebastopol and thence along the coast till they landed at Soldaia or Sudak, at that time the great commercial depot for Turkey and the land of the Khazars. From Sudak, where the expedition aroused much interest among the Byzantine merchants, Friar William and his party began their journey overland on the 1st of June, equipped with four ox-waggons for their baggage (a very slow and cumbersome form of transport as they were to discover) and five horses for themselves. Rubruck's first meeting with the Tartars, the terror of the world, came to him as a great shock. 'When I found myself among them,' he writes, 'it seemed to me of a truth that I had been transported into another century.' A careful description is then given of the manners, laws, and way of living of these fierce nomads.

The first Tartar horde to be encountered was that of Scatai whose camp of waggons, tents, and herds seemed like a moving city. Furnished with guides (who robbed them with brazen assurance) they journeyed slowly and painfully over the arid prairie, sleeping every night in the open under their ox-waggons. Crossing the Don, they arrived on August the 2nd at the camp of Prince Sartach by the Volga,

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction above, pp. xix-xx.

where they were treated with customary Tartar meanness and insolence, but were given permission to proceed to Sartach's overlord, the great Batu himself. Dropping down the Volga by boat, the travellers overtook Batu's *ordu* or moving camp; and after an interview, which is described in the extract given below, they pushed on eastward to find the great Khan Mangu. Across the Yaik or Ural River they went 'over this vast sea-like plain', into the 'alps' of the Altai country, then down to a fertile plain, until at last Karakorum the great city of the Mongol Khan was reached. Throughout the itinerary, mountains, rivers, and peoples practically unknown to Western Europe are accurately and fully described. It is indeed a book which, as Sir Henry Yule remarks, 'has few superiors in the library of Travel'.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to Cyprus in 1255, Friar William found that his patron King Louis had returned to France. Wishing to proceed thither he was not allowed by the Franciscan Provincial to do so, but was ordered to Acre, where he was to write and dispatch his report. Louis's intervention, however, seems to have procured the desired permission; for the famous Roger Bacon met Friar William in France a few years later, examined his narrative, and incorporated all its geographical details in his *Opus Majus* (1264). It is significant that from that date until Hakluyt's publication of a portion of the report in 1600, William of Rubruck's travels were almost entirely ignored.

<sup>1</sup> Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 102.

THE JOURNEY TO THE EASTERN PARTS OF  
THE WORLD OF FRIAR WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK  
OF THE ORDER OF MINOR FRIARS

*in the year of Grace MCCLIII.<sup>1</sup>*

TO the most excellent lord and most Christian Louis, by the grace of God illustrious King of the French, from Friar William of Rubruck, the meanest in the order of Minor Friars, greetings, and may he always triumph in Christ. It is written in Ecclesiasticus of the Wise man: 'He shall go through the land of foreign peoples, and shall try the good and evil in all things.' This, my lord King, have I done, and may it have been as a wise man and not as a fool; for many do what the wise man doth, though not wisely, but most foolishly; of this number I fear I may be. Nevertheless in whatever way I may have done, since you commanded me when I took my leave of you that I should write you whatever I should see among the Tartars, and you did also admonish me not to fear writing a long letter, so I do what you enjoined on me, with fear, however, and diffidence, for the proper words that I should write to so great a monarch do not suggest themselves to me.

Be it known then to your Sacred Majesty that in the year of our Lord one thousand ccliii, on the nones of May (7 May), I entered the Sea of Pontus, which is commonly called Mare Majus, or the Greater Sea,<sup>2</sup> and it is one thousand cccc miles in length,<sup>3</sup> as I learnt from merchants, and is divided as it were into two parts. For about the middle of it there are two points of land, the one in the north and the other in the south. That which is in the south is called Sinopolis, and is a fortress and a port of the Soldan of Turkia; while that which is in the north is a certain province now called by the Latins Gazaria,<sup>4</sup> but by the Greeks who inhabit along its sea

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the translation of the Honble. W. W. Rockhill (Hakluyt Society, Series ii, no. 4, 1900) by kind permission of the Society.

<sup>2</sup> The name Pontus, or Pontus Euxinus, was used by all classical authors to designate the Black Sea.

<sup>3</sup> This is greatly exaggerated.

<sup>4</sup> This name was given to the Crimea probably in the eighth century from the Khazars, a nation of Turkish stock who then occupied it.

coast it is called Cassaria, which is Cesaria. And there are certain promontories projecting out into the sea to the south toward Sinopolis; and there are three hundred miles between Sinopolis and Cassaria, and so there are seven hundred miles from these points to Constantinople in length and breadth, and seven hundred to the east, which is Hyberia, that is to say, the province of Georgia.

So we made sail for the province of Gazaria, or Cassaria, which is about triangular in shape, having on its west side a city called Kersona,<sup>1</sup> where Saint Clement was martyred. And as we were sailing past it we saw an island on which is a temple said to have been built by angelic hands. In the middle, at the summit of the triangle as it were, on the south side, is a city called Soldaia,<sup>2</sup> which looketh across towards Sinopolis; and thither come all the merchants arriving from Turkia who wish to go to the northern countries, and likewise those coming from Roscia and the northern countries who wish to pass into Turkia. The latter carry vaire and minever, and other costly furs; the others (the former) carry cloths of cotton or bombax,<sup>3</sup> silk stuffs and sweet-smelling spices. To the east of this province is the city called Matrica, where the river Tanais falls into the sea of Pontus, through an opening XII miles wide. For this river, before it enters the sea of Pontus, forms a kind of sea to the north which has a width and breadth of seven hundred miles, with nowhere a depth of over six paces, so large vessels do not enter it, but the merchants of Constantinople who visit the said city of Matrica send their barks as far as the River Tanais<sup>4</sup> to buy dried fish, such as sturgeon, barbel and tench, and other fishes in infinite varieties. The said province of Cassaria is therefore encompassed by the sea on three sides: to wit, on the west, where is Kersona, the city of Clement, and to the south where is the city of Soldaia, to which we were steering, and which makes the apex of the province, and to the east by the sea of Tanais. Beyond this opening is Zikuia, which does not

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Sebastopol. This town of Chersonesus, established by the Greeks of Heraclea, had been in early times the emporium for Western Asiatic and Russian trade—silks, furs, and slaves being the principal commodities exchanged. But in medieval times the trade centre had shifted to Soldaia, the modern Sudak.

<sup>2</sup> Soldaia (Sudak) was first captured by the Mongols in 1223, who lost it shortly afterwards, but recaptured it in 1239.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient name for cotton.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the Don.

obey the Tartars, and to the east (of that) are the Suevi<sup>1</sup> and Hiberi,<sup>2</sup> who do not obey the Tartars. After that, to the south, is Trapesund, which hath its own lord, Guido by name, who is of the family of the emperors of Constantinople, and he obeyeth the Tartars.<sup>3</sup> After that is the country of Vastacius, whose son is called Ascar after his maternal grandfather, and who is not subject (to them). From the opening (of the sea) of Tanais to the west as far as the Danube all is theirs (i.e. the Tartars') even beyond the Danube towards Constantinople, Blakia, which is the land of Assan, and minor Bulgaria as far as Sclavonia, all pay them tribute; and besides the regular tribute, they have taken in the past few years from each house one axe and all the iron which they found unwrought.

We arrived then in Soldaia on the 12th of the calends of June (21 May), and there had preceded us certain merchants of Constantinople, who had said that envoys from the Holy Land were coming who wished to go to Sartach.<sup>4</sup> I had, however, publicly preached on Palm Sunday (12 April) in Saint Sophia that I was not an envoy, neither yours nor anyone's, but that I was going among these unbelievers according to the rule of our order. So when I arrived these said merchants cautioned me to speak guardedly, for they had said that I was an envoy, and if I said I was not an envoy I would not be allowed to pass. So I spoke in the following way to the captains of the city, or rather to the substitutes of the captains, for the captains had gone to Baatu during the winter bearing the tribute, and had not yet returned: 'We have heard say in the Holy Land that your Lord Sartach is a Christian,<sup>5</sup> and greatly were the Christians rejoiced thereat, and chiefly so the most Christian lord the King of the French, who has come thither on a pilgrimage and is fighting against the Saracens<sup>6</sup> to wrench the holy places from out their hands: it is for this I wish to go to Sartach, and carry to him the letters of the lord king, in which he admonisheth him of the weal of all Christen-

<sup>1</sup> A people of Karthwelian race who still occupy in the Western Caucasus the country (Suavetia) as they did in classical times.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Georgians. Georgia did not submit to the Tartar yoke until after a long struggle.

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the few errors in the narrative. The Emperor Andronikos Ghidos (Guido) of Trebizonde only reigned until 1235.

<sup>4</sup> This Mongol chief was the son of Batu.

<sup>5</sup> The belief that Sartach was a Christian was general at the time.

<sup>6</sup> This word comes from the Arabic *Sharki*, 'Oriental'.

dom.' And they received us right favourably, and gave us lodgings in the episcopal church. And the bishop of this church had been to Sartach, and he told me much good of Sartach, which I later on did not discover myself.

Then they gave us the choice whether we would have carts with oxen to carry our effects, or sumpter horses. And the merchants of Constantinople advised me to take carts, and that I should buy the regular covered carts such as the Ruthenians carry their furs in, and in these I could put such of our things as I would not wish to unload every day; should I take horses it would be necessary to unload them at each stopping-place and to load other horses; and furthermore I should be able to ride more slowly following the gait of the oxen. Then I accepted their advice, unfortunately, however, for I was two months on the way to Sartach, which I might have travelled in one had I gone with horses.

I had brought with me from Constantinople, on the advice of merchants, fruits, muscadel wine and dainty biscuits to present to the first captains (of the Tartars), so that my way might be made easier, for among them no one is looked upon in a proper way who comes with empty hands. All these things I put in one of the carts, since I had not found the captains of the city, and I was told they would be most acceptable to Sartach if I could carry them to him that far. We set out on our journey about the calends of June (1 June) with our four covered carts and two others which were lent us by them and in which was carried bedding to sleep on at night. And they gave us also five horses to ride, for us five persons, myself, and my companion Friar Bartholomew of Cremona, and Gosset the bearer of the presents, and Homo Dei the dragoman, and the boy Nicholas whom I had bought at Constantinople by means of your charity. They gave us also two men who drove the carts and looked after the oxen and horses.

Now from Kersona all the way to the mouth of the Tanais there are high promontories along the sea, and there are forty hamlets between Kersona and Soldaia, nearly every one of which has its own language; among them were many Goths, whose language is Teutonic.

Beyond these mountains to the north is a most beautiful forest, in a plain full of springs and rivulets, and beyond this forest is a mighty plain which stretches out for five days to the border of this province

to the north, where it contracts, having the sea to the east and the west, so that there is a great ditch from one sea to the other. In this plain used to live Comans before the Tartars came, and they forced the cities referred to and the forts to pay them tribute; but when the Tartars came<sup>1</sup> such a multitude of Comans entered this province, all of whom fled to the shore of the sea, that they ate one another, the living the dying, as was told me by a certain merchant who saw it, the living devouring and tearing with their teeth the raw flesh of the dead, as dogs do corpses. Toward the end of this province are many and large lakes, on whose shores are brine springs, the water of which as soon as it enters the lake is turned into salt as hard as ice. And from these brine springs Baatu and Sartach derive great revenues, for from all Ruscia they come thither for salt, and for each cartload they give two pieces of cotton worth half an yperpera. There come there also by sea many ships for salt, and all contribute according to the quantity (they take).

After having left Soldaia we came on the third day across the Tartars, and when I found myself among them it seemed to me of a truth that I had been transported into another century.

[Friar William here pauses to give a detailed account of the terrible Mongol conquerors, their nomadic habits, customs in marriage, religion and law, and of their insolent and avaricious behaviour towards him.]

We travelled eastward, seeing nothing but the sky and the earth, only now and then to our right the sea which is called Sea of Tanais, and tombs of Comans visible two leagues off, on account of the custom of burying the whole of a family in one spot. As long as we were in the desert it fared well with us, but such misery as I had to suffer when we came to inhabited places, words fail me to express. For our guide wanted me to meet every captain with a present, but our supplies sufficed not for that, for daily we were eight persons eating our bread, without counting those who came by hazard, who all wanted to eat with us. There were five of us, and the three who were conducting us, two driving the carts and one going with us to Sartach. The meat they had given us was insufficient, and we

<sup>1</sup> The Mongols invaded the Crimea for the first time in 1222.

could find nothing to buy with money. To add to this, when we were seated in the shade under our carts, for the heat was intense at that season, they pushed in most importunately among us, to the point of crushing us, in their eagerness to see all our things. . . . Above all this, however, I was distressed because I could do no preaching to them; the interpreter would say to me: 'You cannot make me preach, I do not know the proper words to use'. And he spoke the truth; for after awhile, when I had learned something of the language, I saw that when I said one thing, he said a totally different one, according to what came uppermost in his mind. So, seeing the danger of speaking through him, I made up my mind to keep silence.

We travelled along then in great distress from stage to stage till a few days before the feast of blessed Mary Magdalen (22 June) we came to the great river Tanais, which separates Asia from Europe, just as the river of Egypt divides Asia from Africa. At the place where we came to it Baatu and Sartach had established a village of Ruthenians on the east bank, who ferried envoys and merchants across on small boats. They first passed us across, then the carts; putting one wheel in one boat and the other in another and tying the boats together they rowed them across. At this place our guide did a most foolish thing; thinking that the people had to supply us with horses, he sent back to their owners from the near bank the animals which had brought us; but when we asked for animals they replied that they were exempted by Baatu from any other service than ferrying across those who came and went. From merchants even they collect much money. So we remained there on the river bank for three days. The first day they gave us a big barbel just out of the water, the second day some rye bread and a little meat which the headman of the village collected from the different houses; the third day we got dried fish, of which they have great quantities here. That river at this point was as broad as the Seine at Paris. And before we came there, we passed many fine sheets of water full of fish, but the Tartars do not know how to catch them, nor do they care for fish unless they can eat it as they would mutton. This river is the eastern boundary of Ruscia, and takes its rise in the Mœotide fens, which extend to the ocean in the north. The river, however, flows southward, forming a big sea of seven hundred miles before it reaches the Sea of Pontus, and all the streams we passed flow also in that



A caravan on the move in the desert



The head of a camel caravan coming over a pass into China

TRAVEL IN MONGOLIA



direction. This same river has a forest on its west bank. Beyond this point the Tartars go no farther north, for at that season, about the beginning of August, they commence going back southward; so there is another village lower down (the river), where envoys pass over in winter. We found ourselves here in great straits, for we could procure neither horses nor oxen for money. Finally, when I had proved to them that we were working for the common good of all Christendom, they obliged us with oxen and horses; but we ourselves had to go on foot.

It was the season when they were cutting the rye. Wheat thrives not there; but they have great abundance of millet. The Ruthenian women arrange their heads as among us, but their outside gowns they trim from the feet to the knee with *vaire* or *minever*. The men wear capes like the Germans; on their heads they wear felt caps, pointed and very high.

We trudged along for three days without seeing anyone, and just as we and the oxen were well worn out, and unable to find any Tartars, two horses came running towards us; we took them with great delight, and our guide and the interpreter got on them, in the hope of being able to find some people. Finally on the fourth day<sup>1</sup> we found some people, and we were as happy as shipwrecked mariners on reaching port. Then we got horses and oxen and went along from stage to stage till we reached the camp of Sartach on the second day of the Calends of August (31 July).

So we found Sartach three days from the Etilia, and his *ordu* seemed to us very big, for he had six wives, and his eldest son who was beside him had two or three, and every one of them had a big dwelling and perhaps two hundred carts. Our guide went to a certain Nestorian, Coiac by name, who is one of the most important men of his *ordu*. This latter made us go a long way to an officer who is called the *Jamiam*,<sup>2</sup> for thus they call him whose duty it is to receive envoys. In the evening this Coiac had us told to come to him. Then our guide asked us what we were going to take to him,

<sup>1</sup> Since leaving the ferry across the Don.

<sup>2</sup> In another passage the name is correctly written *Iam*. Marco Polo says: 'And the messengers of the Emperor in travelling from Cambaluc, be the road which-soever they will, find at every 25 miles of the journey a station which they call *Yamb*, or, as we should say, the "Horse-Post-House".'

and he was greatly scandalized when he saw that we were getting nothing ready to take to him. We stood in front of him seated in all his glory, striking a guitar and making people dance before him. Then I repeated what I had previously said elsewhere as to the reason for which we had come to his master, begging him to assist us that his lord might see our letters. I also excused myself, being a monk, for neither having, receiving nor carrying with me gold or silver or any precious thing, but only books and the chapel,<sup>1</sup> with which we served God, so we were not offering presents to either him or his lord, for having put away all worldly goods I could not be the bearer of those of others. Then he replied right pleasantly that I did well, being a monk, to keep my vows; that he did not want of our things, but would rather give us of his own if we were in want; and he caused us to sit down and drink of his milk, and after awhile he besought us to say a blessing for him, which we did. He also asked us who was the greatest lord among the Franks. I said: 'The Emperor, if his land were in peace.' 'No,' he said, 'it is the King of France.' For he had heard of you from Messire Baldwin of Hainaut. I also found there one of the companions of David,<sup>2</sup> who had been in Cyprus (with him), and who had told him of all he had seen. Then we went back to our lodgings.

The next day (1 August) I sent him (Coiac) a flagon of muscadell wine, which had kept perfectly good during the whole long journey, and a hamper of biscuits which pleased him very much; and that evening he kept our servants with him. The next day he sent me word to come to the court, bringing with me the king's letters, the vestments and the church ornaments and the books, for his master wished to see them. We did accordingly, putting in one cart the books and the chapel, and in another bread, wine and fruit. Then he caused us to explain all about the books and vestments, and many Tartars and Christians and Saracens looked on seated on their horses. When he had finished examining them, he asked if I would give all these things to his master. When I heard this I was shocked,

<sup>1</sup> The word *capella* in medieval Latin, and also in modern French, is used to designate both the place in which Mass is celebrated, and by extension the chalice, candlesticks, censers, and other objects used in church worship. Friar William uses it in the latter sense.

<sup>2</sup> This David in 1248 came to St. Louis, when at Nicosia in Cyprus, on a mission from the Mongol general Ilchikadai.

and his words displeased me. Dissimulating, however, I replied: 'My lord, we beg that your lord will deign receive this bread, wine and fruit, not as a present, for it is too trifling, but for a blessing, and so that we appear not before him with empty hands. He shall see the letters of the lord King, and by them he shall know why we come to him, and then we will await his pleasure, we and all our belongings. As to these vestments they are holy, and may not be touched except by priests.' Then he told us to put them on to go in unto his lord, and this we did. I put on the most costly of the vestments, with a most beautiful cushion against my breast, and took the Bible which you had given me, and the beautiful Psalter which my lady the Queen had presented me with, and in which were right beautiful pictures. My companion took the missal and the cross, while the clerk (Gosset) put on a surplice and took the censer. And so we came before his (i.e. Sartach's) dwelling, and they raised the felt which hung before the entry, so that he could see us. Then they made the clerk and the interpreter to bow the knee (three times): of us they did not demand it. They then enjoined us earnestly to be most careful in going in and coming out not to touch the threshold of the dwelling, and also to chant some blessing for him. So we went in chanting, *Salve, regina!* In the entry of the dwelling there was a bench with *cosmos* and cups, and all Sartach's wives had come thither and the Moal came crowding in around us.

Then this Coiac handed him the censer with the incense, and he examined it, holding it in his hand most carefully. After that he handed him the Psalter, at which he took a good look, as did the wife who was seated beside him. Then he handed him the Bible, and he asked if the Gospels were in it. I said that it contained all the Sacred writings. He also took in his hand the cross, and asked if the image on it were that of Christ. I replied that it was. Those Nestorians and Hermenians never make the figure of Christ on their crosses; they would thus appear to entertain some doubt of the Passion, or to be ashamed of it. Then he caused the bystanders to withdraw so that he could better see our ornaments. Then I presented to him your letter, with translations in Arabic and Syriac, for I had had them both translated and written in these languages at Acon. And there were there (at Sartach's camp) Hermenian priests who knew Turkish and Arabic, and that companion of David who knew Syriac, Turkish, and Arabic. Then we went out and took off

our vestments, and some scribes and this Coiac came, and they translated the letters (into Mongol). When he (Sartach) had heard them, he caused our bread and wine and fruit to be accepted, and our vestments and books to be carried back to our lodgings. All this took place on the Feast of Saint Peter in chains (1 August).

[Having obtained the required permission, Friar William journeyed eastwards to find Batu, Sartach's overlord, crossing the river Etil, and on to the Volga, which he reached somewhere near the modern Saratov. Then in order to catch up with Batu, who was moving slowly south towards the Caspian Sea, he took boat down the Volga until he overtook the horde.]

When I saw the *ordu* of Baatu, I was astonished, for it seemed like a great city stretched out about his dwelling, with people scattered all about for three or four leagues. And as among the people of Israel, where each one knew in which quarter from the tabernacle he had to pitch his tents, so these know on which side of the *ordu* they must place themselves when they set down their dwellings. A court is *orda* in their language, and it means 'middle', for it is always in the middle of the people, with the exception, however, that no one places himself right to the south, for in that direction the doors of the court open. But to the right and left they may spread out as they wish, according to the lay of the land, so long as they do not bring the line of tents down right before or behind the court.

We were first taken to a certain Saracen, who gave us no food. The next day we were taken to the court, and they had a great awning spread, for the dwelling could not hold all the men and women who had come thither. Our guide cautioned us to say nothing until Baatu should have bid us speak, and then to speak briefly. He asked also whether you had already sent ambassadors to the Tartars. I said that you had sent to Kcu chan, but that you would not even have sent envoys to him and letters to Sartach if you had not believed that they were Christians. Then they led us before the pavilion, and we were warned not to touch the ropes of the tent, for they are held to represent the threshold of the door. So we stood there in our robes and barefooted, with uncovered heads, and we

were a great spectacle unto ourselves. Friar John of Policarp<sup>1</sup> had been there; but he had changed his gown, fearing lest he should be slighted, being the envoy of the lord Pope. Then we were led into the middle of the tent, and they did not require us to make any reverence by bending the knee, as they are used to do of envoys. We stood before him the time to say: *Miserere mei, Deus*, and all kept profound silence. He was seated on a long seat as broad as a couch, all gilded, and with three steps leading up to it, and a lady was beside him. Men were seated about on his right, and ladies on his left: and where the room on the women's side was not taken up by them, for there were only present the wives of Baatu, men occupied it. A bench with *cosmos* and big cups of gold and silver, ornamented with precious stones, was in the entry of the tent. He looked at us intently, and we at him, and he seemed to me to be about the height of my lord John de Beaumont,<sup>2</sup> may his soul rest in peace. And his face was all covered at that time with reddish spots. Finally he bid me speak, and our guide told us to bend the knee and speak. I bent one knee as to a man, but he made sign to me to bend both, which I did, not wishing to dispute over it. Then he bid me speak, and I, thinking I was praying God, having both knees bent, began my speech by saying: 'Oh lord, we pray God from whom proceedeth all good things, and who gave you these worldly goods, to give you hereafter celestial ones, for the former without the latter are vain.' And as he listened attentively, I added: 'You must know for certain that you shall not have the celestial goods unless you have been a Christian; for God saith: "He who shall have believed and have been baptized, shall be saved, but he who shall not have believed shall be condemned."' At this he quietly smiled, and the other Moal began clapping their hands, laughing at us, and my interpreter stood dumbfounded, and I had to reassure him that he be not afraid. Then silence being reestablished, I said: 'I came to your son, because we had heard that he was a Christian, and I brought him letters from the lord King of the French. He (i.e. Sartach) it is who has sent me here to you. You must know the reason why.' Then he caused me to rise, and he asked your name and mine, and that of my companion and of the interpreter, and he had it all written down,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Friar John de Plano Carpini.

<sup>2</sup> Jean de Beaumont—"le bon chevalier"—accompanied St. Louis in his crusade to the Holy Land.

and he also asked against whom you were waging war, for he had heard that you had left your country with an army. I replied: 'Against the Saracens who are profaning Jerusalem, the house of God.' He also asked whether you had ever sent envoys to him. 'To you,' I said, 'never'. Then he made us sit down, and had us given of his milk to drink, and they hold it to be a great honour when any-one drinks *cosmos* with him in his dwelling. While sitting there I was looking down, but he bid me turn my face up, either wishing to see me better, or on account of their sorcery, for they hold it to be a bad omen or sign, or as portending evil, if one sits before them with face turned down as if in sorrow, and especially so if he rest his chin or his cheek in his hand. Then we went out, and after a little while our guide came to us, and while conducting us to our lodging said to me: 'The lord King requests that you remain in this country, but Baatu may not do this without the permission of Mangu chan. So you and your interpreter must go to Mangu chan. As to your companion and the other man, they will go back to Sartach, where they will await your return.' Then the interpreter Homo Dei began to lament, deeming himself lost, and my companion to declare that they might sooner cut off his head than separate him from me; and I said that without a companion I could not go, and moreover that we really required two servants, for should one happen to fall ill, I could not be left alone. So he went back to the court and told Baatu what I had said. Then he commanded; 'Let the two priests and the interpreter go, and the clerk return to Sartach.' He came back and told us the decision; but when I wanted to speak about the clerk, that he might come with us, he said: 'Say no more about it, for Baatu has settled it, and I dare not go again to the court.' The clerk Gosset had xxvi yperpera of your alms and no more; of these he kept x for himself and the boy, and he gave the xvi others to Homo Dei for us; and so we parted from each other with tears, he going back to Sartach, and we remaining there.

On the eve of the Assumption (14 August) he (Gosset) reached the *ordu* of Sartach, and the next day the Nestorian priests were dressed in our vestments in the presence of Sartach. As for us, we were taken to another host who was to provide us with lodgings, food and horses, but as we had nothing to give him he did it all meanly.



ANTHONY JENKINSON'S MAP OF RUSSIA, MUSCOVY, AND TARTARY, 1562

The Caspian Sea is near the centre



[After long delay, Friar William and his two companions and a guide set forth on 15 September to seek the great Khan Mangu, travelling 'ever eastward', and suffering great misery from cold and lack of food. After crossing the Ural river and skirting the northern slopes of the Alexander mountains, they reached the market town of Kailak, at which point the Friar gives an interesting description of several Asiatic peoples, including the inhabitants of Cathay, the land of silk. Leaving Kailak on 30 November, they journeyed through deep snow over barren pasture land and across a series of mountain ranges until at last they reached the horde of the Great Khan on 27 December in the vast plains of Mongolia.]

On the Octave of the Innocents (3 January 1254) we were taken to court; and there came certain Nestorian priests, whom I did not know to be Christians, and they asked me in what direction I prayed. I said 'to the east'. And they asked that because we had shaved our beards, at the suggestion of our guide, so as to appear before the chan according to the fashion of our country. 'Twas for this that they took us for Tuins, that is idolaters. They also made us explain the Bible. Then they asked us what kind of reverence we wanted to make the chan, according to our fashion, or according to theirs. I replied to them: 'We are priests given to the service of God. Noblemen in our country do not, for the glory of God, allow priests to bend the knee before them. Nevertheless, we want to humble ourselves to every man for the love of God. We come from afar: so in the first place then, if it please you, we will sing praises to God who has brought us here in safety from so far, and after that we will do as it shall please your lord, this only excepted, that nothing be required of us contrary to the worship and glory of God.' Then they went into the house, and repeated what I had said. It pleased the lord, and so they placed us before the door of the dwelling, holding up the felt which hung before it; and, as it was the Nativity, we began to sing:

*A solis ortus cardine  
Adusque terre limitem  
Christum canamus principem  
Natam Maria virgine.*

When we had sung this hymn, they searched our legs and breasts and arms to see if we had knives upon us. They had the interpreter examined, and made him leave his belt and knife in the custody of a door-keeper. Then we entered, and there was a bench in the entry with *cosmos*, and near by it they made the interpreter stand. They made us, however, sit down on a bench near the ladies. The house was all covered inside with cloth of gold, and there was a fire of briars and wormwood roots—which grow here to great size—and of cattle dung, in a grate in the centre of the dwelling. He (Mangu) was seated on a couch, and was dressed in a skin spotted and glossy, like a seal's skin. He is a little man, of medium height, aged forty-five years, and a young wife sat beside him; and a very ugly full-grown girl called Cirina, with other children, sat on a couch after them. This dwelling had belonged to a certain Christian lady, whom he had much loved, and of whom he had had this girl. Afterwards he had taken this young wife, but the girl was the mistress of all this *ordu*, which had been her mother's.

He had us asked what we wanted to drink, wine or *terraccina*, which is rice wine, or *caracosmos*, which is clarified mare's milk, or *bal*, which is honey mead. For in winter they make use of these four kinds of drinks. I replied: 'My lord, we are not men who seek to satisfy our fancies about drinks; whatever pleases you will suit us.' So he had us given of the rice drink, which was clear and flavoured like white wine, and of which I tasted a little out of respect for him, but for our misfortune our interpreter was standing by the butlers, who gave him so much to drink, that he was drunk in a short time. After this the chan had brought some falcons and other birds, which he took on his hand and looked at, and after a long while he bade us speak. Then we had to bend our knees. He had his interpreter, a certain Nestorian, who I did not know was a Christian, and we had our interpreter, such as he was, and already drunk. Then I said: 'In the first place we render thanks and praise to God, who has brought us from so far to see Mangu Chan, to whom God has given so much power on earth. And we pray Christ, by whose will we all live and die, to grant him a happy and long life.' For it is their desire, that one shall pray for their lives. Then I told him: 'My lord, we have heard of Sartach that he was a Christian, and the Christians who heard it rejoiced greatly, and principally my lord the king of the French. So we came to him, and my lord the

king sent him letters by us in which were words of peace, and among other things he bore witness to him as to the kind of men we were, and he begged him to allow us to remain in his country, for it is our office to teach men to live according to the law of God. He sent us, however, to his father Baatu, and Baatu sent us to you. You it is to whom God has given great power in the world. We pray then, your mightiness, to give us permission to remain in your dominion, to perform the service of God for you, for your wives and your children.

We have neither gold, nor silver nor precious stones to present to you, but only ourselves to offer to you to serve God, and to pray to God for you. At all events give us leave to remain here till this cold has passed away, for my companion is so feeble that he cannot with safety to his life stand any more the fatigue of travelling on horseback.'

My companion had told me of his infirm condition, and had adjured me to ask for permission to stay, for we supposed that we would have to go back to Baatu, unless by special grace he gave us permission to stay. Then he began his reply: 'As the sun sends its rays everywhere, likewise my sway and that of Baatu reach everywhere, so we do not want your gold and silver.' So far I understood my interpreter, but after that I could not understand the whole of any one sentence: 'twas by this that I found out he was drunk, and Mangu himself appeared to me tipsy. His speech, it seemed to me, however, showed that he was not pleased that we had come to Sartach in the first place rather than to him. Then I, seeing that I was without interpreter, said nothing, save to beg him not to be displeased with what I had said of gold and silver, for I had not said that he needed or wanted such things, but only that we would gladly honour him with things temporal as well as spiritual. Then he made us arise and sit down again, and after awhile we saluted him and went out, and with us his secretaries and his interpreter, who was bringing up one of his daughters. And they began to question us greatly about the kingdom of France, whether there were many sheep and cattle and horses there, and whether they had not better go there at once and take it all. And I had to use all my strength to conceal my indignation and anger; but I answered: 'There are many good things there, which you would see if it befel you to go there.'

Then they appointed some one to take care of us, and we went to the monk. And as we were coming out of there to go to our lodgings, the interpreter I have mentioned came to me and said: 'Mangu Chan takes compassion on you and allows you to stay here for the space of two months; then the great cold will be over. And he informs you that ten days hence there is a goodly city called Caracaram. If you wish to go there, he will have you given all you may require; if, however, you wish to remain here, you may do so, and you shall have what you need. It will, however, be fatiguing for you to ride with the court.' I answered: 'May the Lord keep Mangu Chan and give him a happy and long life! We have found this monk here, whom we believe to be a holy man and come here by the will of God. So we would willingly remain here with him, for we are monks and we would say our prayers with him for the life of the Chan.' Then he left us without a word. And we went to a big house, which we found cold and without a supply of fuel, and we were still without food, and it was night. Then he to whom we had been entrusted gave us fuel and a little food.

Our guide being about to return to Baatu, begged of us a carpet or rug which we had left by his order in Baatu's *ordu*. We gave it him, and he left us in the most friendly manner, asking our hand, and saying that it was his fault if he had let us suffer from hunger or thirst on the journey. We pardoned him, and in like manner we asked pardon of him and all his suite if we had shown them an evil example in anything.

. . . . .

From the time when we reached the court of Mangu, he never moved his carts but twice toward the south; and then he began going back northward, which was toward Caracaram. One thing I remarked throughout the whole journey, which agreed with what I had been told by Messire Baldwin of Hainaut in Constantinople, who had been there, that the one thing that seemed extraordinary was that he ascended the whole way in going, without ever descending. For all the rivers flowed from east to west, either directly or indirectly—that is to say, deflecting north or south. And I questioned priests, who had come from Cathay, who bore witness to it, that from the place where I had found Mangu Chan to Cathay was xx days' journey between south and east; while to Onan Kerule,

which is the true country of the Moal, and where is the *ordu* of Chingis, was ten days due east, and that all the way to the eastern parts there was no city. There were, however (they said), people called Su-Moal, which is 'Moal of the waters'; for *su* is the same as 'water'. They live on fish and by the chase, for they have no flocks, no herds. Likewise to the north there is no city, but a people raising flocks, and called Kerkis. There are also the Oengai, who tie polished bones under their feet, and propel themselves over the frozen snow and on the ice, with such speed that they catch birds and beasts. And there is a number of other poor peoples to the north as far as they can extend on account of the cold, and they confine to the west on the land of Pascatir, which is Greater Hungary, of which I have spoken to you previously. The northern end of the angle is unknown, on account of the great cold. For there is eternal snow and ice there.

I asked (these same priests) about the monsters or human monstrosities, of which Isidorus and Solinus speak. They told me they had never seen such, which astonished me greatly, if it be true. All of these said nations, no matter how miserable they may be, must serve (the Moal) in some manner. For it was a commandment of Chingis, that no man should be free from service, until he be so old that he cannot possibly work any more.

One day a priest from Cathay was seated with me, and he was dressed in a red stuff of the finest hue, and I asked whence came such a colour; and he told me that in the countries east of Cathay there are high rocks, among which dwell creatures who have in all respects human forms, except that their knees do not bend, so that they get along by some kind of jumping motion; and they are not over a cubit in length, and all their little body is covered with hair, and they live in inaccessible caverns. And the hunters (of Cathay) go carrying with them mead, with which they can bring on great drunkenness, and they make cup-like holes in the rocks, and fill them with this mead. (For Cathay has no grape wine, though they have begun planting vines, but they make a drink of rice.) So the hunters hide themselves, and these animals come out of their caverns and taste this liquor, and cry *Chin, chin*, so they have been given a name from this cry, and are called Chinchin. Then they come in great numbers, and drink this mead, and get drunk, and fall asleep. Then come the hunters, who bind the sleepers' feet and hands.

After that they open a vein in their necks, and take out three or four drops of blood, and let them go free; and this blood he told me was most precious for colouring purples. They also told me as a fact (which I do not, however, believe), that there is a province beyond Cathay, and at whatever age a man enters it, that age he keeps which he had on entering.

Cathay is on the ocean. And master William told me that he had himself seen the envoys of certain people called Caule and Manse, who live on islands the sea around which freezes in winter, so that at that time the Tartars can make raids thither; and they had offered (them) thirty-two thousand *tumen* of *iascot* a year, if they would only leave them in peace. A *tumen* is a number containing ten thousand.

The common money of Cathay is a paper of cotton, in length and breadth a palm, and on it they stamp lines like those on the seal of Mangu. They (i.e. the Cathayans) write with a brush such as painters paint with, and they make in one figure the several letters containing a whole word. The Tebet write as we do, and have characters quite like ours. The Tanguts write from right to left like the Arabs, but they repeat the lines running upwards; the Iugur, as previously said (write) up and down. The ordinary money of the Ruthenians are skins of vaire and minever.

[Soon after reaching the horde, the Friar found that they were about to visit the city of Karakorum, and obtained permission to accompany them thither. On arrival he gives a vivid description of Mangu's new palace, and the city itself and of his arguments with Nestorian and Armenian Christians there.]

On Pentecost day (31 May) Mangu Chan called me before him, and also the Tuin with whom I had discussed; but before I went in, the interpreter, master William's son, said to me that we should have to go back to our country, and that I must not raise any objection, for he understood that it was a settled matter. When I came before the Chan, I had to bend the knees, and so did the Tuin beside me, with his interpreter. Then (the Chan) said to me: 'Tell me the truth, whether you said the other day, when I sent my secretaries to you, that I was a Tuin. I replied: 'My lord, I did not say

that; I will tell you what I said if it pleases you.' Then I repeated to him what I had said, and he replied: 'I thought full well that you did not say it, for you should not have said it; but your interpreter translated badly.' And he held out toward me the staff on which he leaned, saying: 'Fear not'. And I, smiling, said in an undertone: 'If I had been afraid, I should not have come here.' He asked the interpreter what I had said, and he repeated it to him. After that he began confiding to me his creed: 'We Moal', he said, 'believe that there is only one God, by whom we live and by whom we die, and for whom we have an upright heart.' Then I said: 'May it be so, for without His grace this cannot be.' He asked what I had said; the interpreter told him. Then he added: 'But as God gives us the different fingers of the hand, so he gives to men divers ways. God gives you the Scriptures, and you Christians keep them not. You do not find (in them, for example) that one should find fault with another, do you?' 'No, my lord,' I said, 'but I told you from the first that I did not want to wrangle with any one.' 'I do not intend to say it', he said, 'for you. Likewise you do not find that a man should depart from justice for money.' 'No, my lord,' I said. 'And truly I came not to these parts to obtain money; on the contrary, I have refused what has been offered me.' And there was a secretary present, who bore witness that I had refused an *iascot* and silken cloths. 'I do not say it', he said, 'for you. God gave you therefore the Scriptures, and you do not keep them. He gave us diviners, we do what they tell us, and we live in peace.'

He drank four times, I believe, before he finished saying all this. And I was listening attentively for him to say something else of his creed, when he began talking of my return journey, saying: 'You have stayed here a long while; I wish you to go back. You have said that you would not dare take my ambassadors with you; will you take my words, or my letters?' And from that time I never found the opportunity nor the time when I could show him the Catholic faith. For no one can speak in his presence but so much as he wishes, unless he be an ambassador; for an ambassador can say whatever he chooses, and they always ask if he wishes to say something more. As for me, it was not allowed me to speak more; I had only to listen to him, and reply to his questions. So I answered him that he should make me understand his words, and have them put down in writing, for I would willingly take them as best I could.

Then he asked me if I wanted gold or silver or costly clothing. I said: 'We take no such things; but we have no travelling money, and without your assistance we cannot get out of your country.' He said: 'I will have you given all you require while (you are) in my possessions; do you want anything more?' I replied: 'That suffices us.' Then he asked: 'How far do you wish to be taken?' I said: 'Our power extends to the country of the king of Hermenia; if we were (escorted) that far, it would suffice me.' He answered: 'I will have you taken that far; after that look out for yourself.' And he added: 'There are two eyes in the head; but though they be two, they have but one sight, and when one turns its glance there goes the other. You came from Baatu, and so you must go back by way of him.' When he had said this, I asked permission of him to speak. 'Speak', he said. Then I said: 'My lord, we are not men of war. We wish that those should have dominion over the world who rule it most justly, in accordance with the will of God. Our office is to teach men to live after the will of God. For that we have come here, and willingly would we remain here if it pleased you. Since it pleases you that we go back, that must then be. I will go back, and I will carry your letters as well as I can, as you have ordered. I would ask of your majesty that since I shall carry your letters, I may also come back to you with your consent; principally because you have poor slaves at Bolat, who are of our tongue, and who have no priest to teach them and their sons their religion, and willingly would I remain with them.' Then he replied: 'If your masters should send you back to me (you will be welcome).' I said: 'My lord, I know not the will of my masters; but I have their permission to go wherever I wish, where it is needful to preach the word of God; and it seems to me that it is very needful in these parts; so whether he sends back envoys by us or not, if it pleases you I will come back.'

Then he remained silent and sat for a long time as if thinking, and the interpreter told me to speak no more. So I waited anxiously for what he would reply. Finally he said: 'You have a long way to go, comfort yourself with food, so that you may reach your country in good health.' And he had me given to drink, and then I went out from before him, and after that I went not back again. If I had had the power to work by signs and wonders like Moses, perhaps he would have humbled himself.

. . . . .

With the feast of Pentecost (31 May) they began preparing the letters which he (the Chan) was to send you. In the meanwhile he came back to Caracorum, and held his great ceremony on the octave of Pentecost (7 June), and he wanted all the ambassadors to be present the last day of it. He sent also for me; but I had gone to the church to baptize three children of a poor German I had found there. Master William was the chief butler at this feast, for he it was who had made the drink-flowing tree; and every one poor and rich was singing and dancing and clapping hands before the Chan. Then he spoke to them, saying: 'I have sent my brothers away, and have exposed them to danger among foreign nations. Now, let it be seen what you will do, when I shall want to send you to increase our realm.' Each day during these four days, they changed their raiment, which was given them each day all of one colour from their boots to their turbans (*tyaram*). At this time I saw there the envoy of the Caliph of Baldach, who used to be brought to court in a litter between two mules, and some said of him that he would make a peace with them, in view of which he was to give him x thousand horse soldiers for his army. Others said that Mangu had said that he would not make a peace unless they destroyed all their fortresses, and that the envoy had replied: 'When you bring all the hoofs of your horses, we will destroy all our fortresses.' I saw also the envoy of a certain Soldan of India, who had brought viii leopards and ten greyhounds taught to sit on horses' backs, as leopards sit. When I asked them concerning India, in what direction it was from that place, they pointed to the west. And these envoys went back with me for nearly three weeks, always going westward. I saw there also envoys of the Soldan of Turkia, who had brought him rich presents; and he (i.e. Mangu) had answered them, as I heard, that he did not want gold or silver, but men; so he wanted to be given troops. On the feast of Saint John he held a great drinking bout, and I counted an hundred and five carts and ninety horses loaded with mare's milk; and on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul likewise.

Finally, the letters he sends you being finished, they called me and interpreted them to me. I wrote down their tenor, as well as I could understand through an interpreter, and it is as follows:

'The commandment of the eternal God is, in Heaven there is only one eternal God, and on Earth there is only one lord, Chingis Chan, the son of God, Demugin (or) Chingis "sound of iron".'

(For they called him Chingis, 'sound of iron', because he was a blacksmith and puffed up in their pride they even say that he is the son of God.) 'This is what is told you. Wherever there is a Moal, or a Naiman, or a Merkit, or a Musteleman, wherever ears can hear, wherever horses can travel, there let it be heard and known; those who shall have heard my commandments and understood them, and who shall not believe and shall make war against us, shall hear and see that they have eyes and see not; and when they shall want to hold anything they shall be without hands, and when they shall want to walk they shall be without feet: this is the eternal command of God.

'This, through the virtue of the eternal God, through the great world of the Moal, is the word of Mangu Chan to the lord of the French, King Louis, and to all the other lords and priests and to all the great realm of the French, that they may understand our words. For the word of the eternal God to Chingis Chan has not reached unto you, either through Chingis Chan or others who have come after him.

'A certain man by the name of David came to you as the ambassador of the Moal, but he was an impostor; and you sent back with him your envoys to Keu Chan. After the death of Keu Chan your ambassadors reached this court. And Camus his wife sent you *nasic* stuffs and letters. But as to affairs of war and of peace and the welfare and happiness of a great realm, what could this woman, who was viler than a dog, know about them?' (For Mangu told me with his own lips that Camus was the worst kind of witch, and that she had destroyed her whole family by her witchcraft.)

'These two monks, who have come from you to Sartach, Sartach sent to Baatu; but Baatu sent them to us, for Mangu Chan is the greatest lord of the Moal realm. Now then, to the end that the whole world and the priests and monks may be in peace and rejoice, and that the word of God he heard among you, we wanted to appoint Moal envoys (to go back) with these your priests. But they replied that between us and you there is a hostile country, and many wicked people, and bad roads; so they were afraid that they could not take our envoys in safety to you; but that if we would give them our letters containing our commandments, they would carry them to King Louis himself. So we do not send our envoys with them; but we send you in writing the commandments of the eternal God

by these your priests: the commandments of the eternal God are what we impart to you. And when you shall have heard and believed, if you will obey us, send your ambassadors to us; and so we shall have proof whether you want peace or war with us. When, by the virtue of the eternal God, from the rising of the Sun to the setting, all the world shall be in universal joy and peace, then shall be manifested what we are to be. But if you hear the commandment of the eternal God, and understand it, and shall not give heed to it, nor believe it, saying to yourselves: "Our country is far off, our mountains are strong, our sea is wide", and in this belief you make war against us, you shall find out what we can do. He who makes easy what is difficult, and brings close what is far off, the eternal God He knows.'

. . . . .

[Bearing this haughty and fanatical missive, Friar William set out about 6 July 1254, on his return journey. On reaching the horde of Baatu he was furnished—after a month's delay—with a guide, and allowed to pursue a more southerly route by Persia and Armenia. After passing through the city of Derbent which guarded the famous Iron Gates (reported to have been built by Alexander of Macedon) between the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea, he spent Christmas in the ruined city of Naxua at the foot of Mount Ararat. Reaching the head waters of the Western Euphrates in February 1255, he journeyed down this river towards Aleppo and so to the coast of Cilicia, where his long and illustrious journey was virtually at an end.]



II

THE TRAVELS OF  
MARCO POLO THE VENETIAN



## *Introductory Note*

MARCO, son of Nicolo Polo, a Venetian merchant of ancient family, was born in Venice in the year 1254. Six years later Nicolo, with Maffeo his brother, journeyed with a stock of jewels across the Euxine to Sudak in the Crimea. Here on the threshold of Mongol territory, where William of Rubruck had set out in 1253, the brothers stayed and traded for some time. Deciding on a more ambitious enterprise, they set out for the Volga and the two camps of Khan Barca (or Berke), Batu's successor, where their hopes of generous treatment were not unrewarded. Unfortunately the defeat of their patron by a prince named Hulagu rendered their return highly dangerous, if not impossible. Thus situated, they determined to press on to Eastern Tartary, trusting in the traditional friendliness of the Chagataian dynasty to Christian merchants. Across the desert then to Bokhara, which was probably reached in 1263, and where they were obliged to remain for three years, unable to go either backward or forward. At the end of that time they encountered in Bokhara ambassadors of the great Kublai Khan about to return to Cathay, who persuaded the stranded traders to go with them to their Lord: for he had often desired to meet and know the Franks of the west. A year later they were in the presence of Kublai, the greatest of all Tartar Khans, who had made himself Emperor of the Chinese, 'As a civilizer', writes Dr. Beazley, 'a patron of arts and letters, a ruler of spirit finely touched and to fine issues, he was unequalled among the princes of his dynasty.'<sup>1</sup>

The return journey of the two brethren with letters from the Pope, their setting forth again for China in 1271 accompanied by the young Marco, and the high favour with which he was received, have been already touched upon.<sup>2</sup> The routes followed in the several journeys between Europe and China present many difficulties into which it is not necessary for our purpose to enter. It is sufficient to note that Great Armenia, Georgia, Persia, and Chinese Turkestan were extensively penetrated at one time or another.

The fortunes of Marco Polo after the final arrival of the three at Venice in 1295, are somewhat obscure. According to Ramusio, Marco was taken prisoner by the Genoese in a sea-fight off the Dal-

<sup>1</sup> Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii. 43.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction above, pp. xx-xxi.

matian coast in 1298. It is at any rate certain that in that year he dictated his famous narrative in Genoa to a fellow-prisoner, Rustician (or Rusticillo) of Persia. Soon afterwards he was released, and died in Venice in 1324-5. No direct evidence—not even his will—corroborates the legend of his possessing enormous wealth. His narrative, dictated from memory, has naturally many omissions and inaccuracies. His account of Mongolian and Chinese customs, &c., with which he must have been intimately acquainted, is neither as detailed or as precise as those of John de Plano or William of Rubruck. Nevertheless as a piece of literature which influenced the thoughts and actions of subsequent generations his narrative stands supreme.

## THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO THE VENETIAN<sup>1</sup>

### *Power and Magnificence of Kublai.*

NOW I am to give you a wonderful account of the greatest king of the Tartars, still reigning, named Kublai, or lord of lords. That name is assuredly well merited, since he is the most powerful in people, in lands, and in treasure, that is, or ever was, from the creation of Adam to the present day; and by the statements to be made in this book, every man shall be satisfied that he really is so. Whosoever descends in the direct line from Gengis is entitled to be master of all the Tartars, and Kublai is the sixth great khan. He began to reign in the year of our Lord 1256, and maintained the dominion by his valour, address, and wisdom. His brothers sought to oppose his succession, but by bravery and right he triumphed over them. From the beginning of his reign, forty-two years have elapsed to the present day, in the year 1298. He is now full eighty-five years old, and before his accession commanded many armies, when he approved himself good at weapons, and a brave captain. But since that time he has joined the army only once, which was in the year 1286, and I will tell you on what occasion.

### *Insurrection raised by Nayan.*

You must understand that a certain cousin of his, named Nayan, who, like his ancestors, was his vassal, yet had many lands and provinces of his own, and could raise 400,000 horsemen, being thirty years old, refused to remain longer in subjection, and assumed the whole sovereignty to himself. He sent to a certain great lord, named Kaidu, a nephew of that monarch, but in rebellion against him, and desirous of doing him the greatest injury. To him Nayan proposed to attack the monarch on one side, while he himself advanced on another, so that they might acquire the dominion over his whole territory. Kaidu declared himself well pleased, and promised to be ready at the time appointed. He could bring into the field 100,000 cavalry; and those two assembled a mighty army on horseback and foot, and marched against the great khan.

<sup>1</sup> From *The Travels of Marco Polo*, edited by Hugh Murray, 3rd edition, 1845.  
3165

*Kublai prepares to meet him.*

When Kublai learned these things, he was not at all alarmed, but declared, that he wished he might never wear a crown, nor hold sway over a kingdom, if he did not bring the traitors to an evil death. He therefore made his whole army be prepared in twenty-two days, and so secretly, that nothing was known beyond his own council. He raised full 360,000 mounted soldiers, and 100,000 infantry; and the reason of their number not being greater, was, that they consisted only of his huntsmen, and those immediately round his person, the rest being employed in carrying on distant wars; for if he could have assembled his whole host, the multitude would have been such as no man could have numbered. He then called his astrologers, and asked of them if he would be victorious; they answered, that he would do to his enemies according to his pleasure.

*Description of the Battle.*

The great khan having assembled these forces, took his departure, and in twenty days came to a vast plain, where Nayan had assembled all his troops, amounting to 400,000 warriors. The khan took much care to scour the paths, and intercept all who could have carried the intelligence; so that when he approached at dawn of day, the rebel was lying asleep in bed with a favourite wife, not having the least dread of his arrival, and, consequently, no guard on any side of the camp. Kublai then advanced, having a tower fixed upon four elephants, whereon were placed his ensigns, so that he could be seen by the whole army. His men, divided into bands of twenty thousand, surrounded in a moment the adverse force, each soldier having a footman on the crupper behind him, with a bow in his hand. When Nayan and his men saw their camp thus encircled by the khan and his host, they were seized with amaze; yet they ran to arms, formed themselves in order of battle, and were soon prepared to strike. Then began the beating on many instruments, and singing with loud voices; for it is the custom of the Tartars, that until the horn termed *naccar* is winded the troops do not engage. But when that grand trumpet of the great khan was sounded, all the other performers began playing, and raising their voices very loud, making a noise that was truly most wonderful. Then the two armies rushed against each other with sword, spear, and lance, while the footmen were



MARCO POLO SETTING OUT ON HIS JOURNEY  
FROM VENICE IN 1338

From a MS. illustration



prepared with bow and quiver. The battle was fierce and cruel; the arrows filled the air like rain; horses and horsemen were seen falling to the ground; and the tumult was such, that if Jove had thundered, he could not have been heard. Nayan was a baptized Christian, and therefore had the cross upon his standard. Never, in our day, was there so hard and terrible a combat, nor so many assembled on one field, especially of horsemen; and the number who fell on both sides was fearful to behold. The battle continued from nine in the morning till midday; but the great khan at last remained master of the field. When Nayan and his men saw that they could hold out no longer, they betook themselves to flight; but it availed them nothing; he was taken, and all his troops surrendered.

### *Death of Nayan.*

When that great monarch heard that Nayan was taken, he ordered him to be put to death in the manner I am now to tell you. He was wrapped in a carpet, and violently tossed to and fro till he died. This mode was adopted, that, being of imperial lineage, his blood might not be shed on the ground, nor his cries ascend into the air. When that battle was gained, four of his provinces paid tribute and homage to the great khan. These were Cicorcia, Cauli, Bastol, and Suchintin.

### *Kublai silences the Mockery of the Jews and Saracens.*

When the monarch had achieved this triumph, the Saracens, Pagans, Jews, and other generations of men who believe not in God, expressed wonder at the cross which the vanquished leader had carried on his standard, and said in derision of the Christians—‘see how the cross of your God has aided Nayan and his people.’ They made such a noise on this subject, that it came to the ears of the prince, who was much displeased, and sending for the Christians, said to them—‘if your God did not assist Nayan, he acted with great justice, because he is a good and righteous God. Nayan was a traitor and rebel against his lord, and therefore God did well in not assisting him.’ Then the Christians replied—‘O, great sire! thou hast spoken the truth, for the cross will aid nothing unjust, and he met only what he well deserved.’ Having gained this victory, the great khan returned to his capital, Kambalu, with much festival and rejoicing. When the other king, named Kaidu, heard how his ally

had been worsted, he was struck with fear, and did not attempt to lead his army against the monarch. Now you have seen how that prince went to battle, and for what cause, while on all other occasions he sent his son and his barons; but this war was of such magnitude that it seemed to deserve his own immediate presence.

*His Opinions as to the Christian Religion*

The grand khan, having obtained this splendid victory, returned with great pomp and triumph to his capital of Kambalu. He arrived there in November, and remained till after March, in which month our festival of Easter occurred. Aware that this was one of our most solemn periods, he commanded all the Christians to attend him, bringing with them their book containing the four gospels. He caused it, in a very respectful manner, to be repeatedly perfumed with incense, ordering all his nobles present to do the same. Such was the custom upon each of the two great festivals of Easter and Christmas; and he followed the same course as that pursued by the Saracens, Jews, and idolaters. Being asked the reason of this conduct, he replied—‘there are four great prophets revered and worshipped by different classes of mankind. The Christians hold Christ as their divinity; the Saracens, Mohammed; the Jews, Moses; and the idolaters, Sogomombar Khan, their most distinguished idol. I honour and respect all the four, and seek aid from them, as any one of them may really be supreme in heaven.’ Yet, from the behaviour of his majesty towards the Christians, he evidently believed their faith the best and truest; observing, that it enjoined nothing on its professors that was not full of virtue and holiness. He would not indeed allow the cross to be borne before them in processions, because, as he said, on it so exalted a person had been nailed and put to death. Some may ask, why if thus partial to the true faith, he did not openly embrace it? He stated his reason to Nicolo and Maffio Polo, when, on his sending them ambassadors to the Pope, they ventured to address to him a few words on the subject. ‘Why,’ said he, ‘should I become a Christian? You must yourselves see that the professors of that faith now in this country are ignorant and weak, unable to do anything extraordinary, while the idolaters have power to do whatever they please. While I am seated at table, the cups, filled with wine or other beverage, come to me from the middle of the hall spontaneously, without being touched by any human hand.

They are able to control bad weather, and force it to retire to any quarter of the heavens; they can perform other wonderful things of the same nature. You have witnessed their idols exercising the faculty of speech, and predicting whatever events are inquired into. Should I become a convert and profess Christianity, the nobles of my court, and others disinclined to the faith, will ask what adequate motives have induced me to be baptized. What wonders, what miracles, they will say, have its ministers performed? But the idolaters declare, that their exhibitions are made through their own holiness and the might of their idols. To this I shall be unable to make any answer, and be considered as labouring under a grievous mistake, while the heathen teachers, by the profound art which they display, may easily accomplish my death. Return, however, to your pontiff, and present to him my request, that he would send a hundred persons learned in your law, who, when confronted with the others, will be able to control them, and while proving themselves endowed with similar skill, shall render their antagonists unable in their presence to carry on these practices. On witnessing this, I will interdict the exercise of their religion, and suffer myself to be baptized. This example will be followed by all my nobility, and by my subjects in general; so that the Christians in these regions will become more numerous than those inhabiting your own country.' From this language it evidently appears that had the pope sent out persons duly qualified to preach the gospel, the great khan would have embraced that faith, for which he certainly entertained a strong predilection.

*Rewards bestowed on his Soldiers.*

Now let us tell of the officers and barons of the great khan, and how he rewarded those who fought with him in the battle against Nayan. To those who commanded 100 men, he gave the command of 1,000, and to those of 1,000 that of 10,000; and he bestowed, according to their rank, tablets of gold or of silver, on all of which was written—'By the might of the great God, and by the favour which he gave to our emperor: may that prince be blessed, and may all those who do not obey him die and be destroyed.' Those who hold these documents enjoy certain privileges, with written instructions how they are to exercise their authority. He who commands 100,000 men receives a golden one, weighing 300 saggi, under which is sculptured a lion on one side, and on the other the sun and

moon. Those who bear these noble tablets have instructions, that whenever they ride they should bear above their head an umbrella of gold, and as often as they are seated, it should be upon silver. There are also tablets whereon is sculptured a gerfalcon, which he gives to three great barons, who have then equal authority with himself. They can take, whenever they please, and lead from place to place, the troops and horses of any prince or king; and whoever dares to disobey in any thing their will and mandate, must die as a rebel to the sovereign.

*His magnificent Palace in Kambalu.*

The great Khan resides in the vast city of Kambalu, three months in the year, December, January, and February, and has here his great palace, which I will now describe. It is a complete square, a mile long on every side, so that the whole is four miles in circuit; and in each angle is a very fine edifice, containing bows, arrows, cords, saddles, bridles, and all other implements of war. In the middle of the wall between these four edifices are others, making altogether eight, filled with stores, and each containing only a single article. Towards the south are five gates, the middle one very large, never opened nor shut unless when the great khan is to pass through; while on the other side is one by which all enter in common. Within that wall is another, containing eight edifices similarly constructed; in which is lodged the wardrobe of the sovereign. These walls enclose the palace of that mighty lord, which is the greatest that ever was seen. The floor rises ten palms above the ground, and the roof is exceedingly lofty. The walls of the chambers and stairs are all covered with gold and silver, and adorned with pictures of dragons, horses, and other races of animals. The hall is so spacious that 6,000 can sit down to banquet; and the number of apartments is incredible. The roof is externally painted with red, blue, green, and other colours, and is so varnished that it shines like crystal, and is seen to a great distance around. It is also very strongly and durably built. Between the walls are pleasant meadows filled with various living creatures, as white stags, the musk animal, deer, wild goats, ermines, and other beautiful creatures. The whole enclosure is full of animals, except the path by which men pass. On the other side, towards the south, is a magnificent lake, whither many kinds of fish are brought and nourished. A river enters and flows out; but the

fish are retained by iron gratings. Towards the north, about a bow-shot from the palace, Kublai has constructed a mound, full a hundred paces high and a mile in circuit, all covered with evergreen trees which never shed their leaves. When he hears of a beautiful tree, he causes it to be dug up, with all the roots and the earth round it, and to be conveyed to him on the backs of elephants, whence the eminence has been made verdant all over, and is called the green mountain. On the top is a palace, also covered with verdure; it and the trees are so lovely that all who look upon them feel delight and joy. In the vicinity is another palace, where resides the grandson of the great khan, Temur, who is to reign after him, and who follows the same life and customs as his grandsire. He has already a golden bull and the imperial seal; but he has no authority while his grandfather lives.

### *Guards of the Great Khan.*

When the great khan holds a court, he is guarded, on account of his excellency and honour, by 12,000 horsemen, who are called *quiesitan*, that is, faithful servants of their lord; and this he does not from fear but regard to his high dignity. Over these 12,000 are four captains, so that each commands 3,000; and they keep guard in turn three days and three nights, eating and drinking at the expense of the prince. Then they go away, and another party comes; and so they proceed throughout the whole year.

### *The Magnificence of his Festivals.*

When the khan wishes to celebrate a splendid festival, the tables are so arranged that his is much higher than the others, and he sits on the north, with his face toward the south. His first wife is seated beside him on the left, while, on the right, are his sons and nephews, and all those of imperial lineage, who are so stationed that their head is on a level with the feet of the monarch. The barons sit still lower; while the ladies, daughters, and female relations of the khan are placed beneath the queen on the left side, and under them all the wives of the barons; every class knows the spot where they ought to sit. The tables are so arranged that the monarch can see all the company, who are very numerous; and outside of that hall there eat more than 40,000 persons, who have come with presents or remarkable objects from foreign parts, and attend on the days when he holds

a court or celebrates a marriage. In the midst of this hall is a very large vessel of fine gold, containing wine, and on each side two smaller ones, whence the liquor is poured out into flagons, each containing fully enough for eight men; and one of these is placed between every two guests, who have besides separate cups of gold to drink out of. This supply of plate is of very great value, and indeed the khan has so many vessels of gold and silver that none without seeing could possibly believe it.

At each door of the great hall, or of any part of the palace occupied by his majesty, stand two officers of gigantic height, holding in their hands staves, to prevent persons who enter from touching the threshold. If any one chances to commit this offence, they take from him his garment, which he must redeem by a payment, or if they spare his dress, inflict at least a number of blows fixed by authority. As strangers may not be aware of this prohibition, officers are appointed to warn them of it at the time of introduction. Since, however, some of the company, on leaving the hall, may be so affected with liquor as to be unable to guard against the accident, it is not then severely punished. Those who serve the khan at table are great barons, who hold their mouths carefully wrapped in rich towels of silk and gold, that their breath may not blow upon the dishes. When he begins to drink, all the instruments, which are very numerous, are sounded, and while the cup is in his hand, the barons and others present fall on their knees, and make signs of great humility; this is done every time he drinks, or when new viands are brought in. These I shall not attempt to recount, since any one may believe that he will have the greatest variety of beasts and birds, wild and domestic, and of fishes in their season, and in the greatest abundance, prepared most delicately in various modes suitable to his magnificence and dignity. Every baron or knight brings his wife, and she sits at table along with the other ladies. When the great sire has eaten, and the tables are removed, a number of jesters, players, and other witty persons perform various pieces, exciting much mirth and pleasure among the company, who then all depart and go to their homes.

### *Great Festival at the King's Birthday.*

The Tartars celebrate a festival on the day of their nativity. The birthday of the khan is on 28th September, and is the greatest of

all, except that at the beginning of the year. On this occasion he clothes himself in robes of beaten gold, and his twelve barons and 12,000 soldiers wear like him dresses of a uniform colour and shape; not that they are so costly, but similarly made of silk, gilded, and bound by a cincture of gold. Many have these robes adorned with precious stones and pearls, so as to be worth 10,000 golden bezants. The great khan, twelve times in the year, presents to those barons and knights robes of the same colour with his own; and this is what no lord in the world can do. On the day of his nativity, all the Tartars from every province of the world, who hold lands under him, celebrate a festival, and bring presents suited to their station. The same is done by every individual who asks from him any favour or office. He has twelve barons who bestow commands on such persons as they think proper. On that day, the Christians, Saracens, and all the races of men who are subject to him, make prayers to their gods that they will preserve, and grant him a long, healthy, and happy life. I will tell you no more of this festival, but of another which they celebrate at the beginning of the year, called the White Feast.

### *Festival of the New Year.*

The Tartars begin their year in February, when the khan and his people celebrate a feast, where all, both men and women, are clothed in white robes. They consider these as signifying joy and good fortune, and that hence all prosperity will happen to them throughout the year. On that day, all who hold land or any dominion under him, make the most magnificent presents in their power, consisting of gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and rich white cloths; so that, during the whole year, he may have abundance of treasures, and of the means of enjoying himself. They present also more than 5,000 camels, with about 100,000 beautiful white horses. On that day, too, he is gratified with at least 5,000 elephants covered with cloths of silk and gold, finely wrought with figures of beasts and birds, and each having on his back a box filled with vessels of gold and silver, and other things necessary for the feast. They all pass before the great khan, and form the most brilliant spectacle ever seen in this world. In the morning of that festal day, before the tables are spread, the kings, generals, counts, astrologers, physicians, falconers, and many other officers and rulers, repair to the hall of the sovereign,

and those who are not admitted remain without the palace in a place where the monarch can fully see them. They are in the following order: Foremost, his sons, nephews, and others of his lineage, then kings, generals, and others according to their rank. As soon as each has taken his place, a great prelate rises and says, with a loud voice, 'incline and adore'; and presently all bend down, strike their foreheads on the earth, and make prayers to their master, adoring him as a god. This they do four times, and then go to an altar, on which is written the name of the great khan. Then, out of a beautiful box, they pour incense on that table in reverence of him, and return to their place; they next make those rich and valuable presents which I have described. When all these things have been done, and the prince has seen them all, the tables are placed, and they sit down, when the feast is ordered and celebrated in the manner already explained. Now that I have described to you the joy of the White Feast, I will tell you of a most noble thing done by this monarch; for he has ordered vestments to be bestowed upon the barons there present.

*Robes bestowed by the Great Khan.*

He has twelve barons, who are called *quiesitan*, or the faithful men of the supreme lord. He gives to each thirteen vestments, differing in colour, and adorned with precious stones, pearls, and other great and most valuable articles; also a golden girdle, and sandals worked with threads of silver, so that each, in these several dresses, appears like a king; and there is a regulation what dress ought to be worn at each of the feasts. The monarch has thirteen robes of the same colour with those of his barons, but more costly. And now I will relate a most wonderful thing, namely, that a large lion is led into his presence, which, as soon as it sees him, drops down, and makes a sign of deep humility, owning him for its lord, and moving about without any chain.

*The Twelve Governors of Provinces and their Duty.*

He has appointed twelve very great barons, who hold command over all things in the thirty-four provinces. They reside in a palace within the city of Kambalu, large and beautiful, containing many halls and apartments; and for every province there is an agent and a number of writers or notaries, having each a house to himself. They

manage all the provincial affairs according to the will and pleasure of the twelve barons. The latter have power to appoint the lords of the provinces above mentioned; and having chosen the one whom they judge best qualified, they name him to the great khan, who confirms him, and bestows a golden tablet corresponding to his command. These twelve barons are called in the Tartar language *scieng*, that is, the greater officers of state. They order the army to go where and in what numbers they please, but all according to the commands of the great sire; and they do every other thing necessary for the provinces. The palace in which they dwell is called *scien*, and is the largest in all the court; they have the power of doing much good to any one whom they favour.

*The Couriers of the Great Khan and the Stations.*

I must now inform you, that from the city of Kambalu, many messengers are sent to divers provinces, and on all the roads they find, at every twenty-five miles, a post called *jamb*, where the imperial envoys are received. At each is a large edifice, containing a bed covered with silk, and everything useful and convenient for a traveller; so that if a king were to come, he would be well accommodated. Here, too, they find full 400 horses whom the prince has ordered to be always in waiting to convey them when sent into any quarter, along the principal roads. When they have to go through any district where there is no habitation, the monarch has caused such edifices to be reared at the distance of thirty-five or at most forty miles; thus they go all through the provinces, finding every where inns and horses for their reception. This is the greatest establishment that ever was kept by any king or emperor in the world; for at those places there are maintained more than 200,000 horses. Also the edifices, furnished and prepared in the manner now described, amount to more than 10,000. Moreover, in the intervals between these stations, at every three miles, are erected villages of about forty houses, inhabited by foot-runners, also employed on these dispatches. They wear a large girdle, set round with bells, which are heard at a great distance. When one of them receives a letter or packet, he runs full speed to the next village, where his approach being announced by the bells, another is ready to start and proceed to the next, and so on. By these pedestrian messengers the khan receives news in one day and night from places distant ten days' journey; in two,

from those distant twenty; and in ten, from those distant a hundred. From them he exacts no tribute, but gives them horses and many other things. When his messengers go on horseback to carry intelligence into the provinces or bring tidings from distant parts, and, more especially, respecting any district that has rebelled, they ride in one day and night 200, 250, or even 300 miles; and when there are two, they receive two good horses, bind themselves round the head and body, and gallop full speed from one station to the next at twenty-five miles distance, where they find two others fresh and ready harnessed, on which they proceed with the same rapidity. They stop not for an instant day or night, and are thus enabled to bring news in so short a period.

*Island of Zipangu,<sup>1</sup> and Tartar Expedition thither.*

This is a very large island, fifteen hundred miles from the continent. The people are fair, handsome, and of agreeable manners. They are idolaters, and live quite separate, entirely independent of all other nations. Gold is very abundant, and no man being allowed to export it, while no merchant goes thence to the mainland, the people accumulate a vast amount. But I will give you a wonderful account of a very large palace, all covered with that metal, as our churches are with lead. The pavement of the chamber, the halls, windows and every other part, have it laid on two inches thick, so that the riches of this place are incalculable. Here are also red pearls, large, and of equal value with the white, with many other precious stones. Kublai, on hearing of this amazing wealth, desired to conquer the island, and sent two of his barons with a very large fleet containing warriors, both horsemen and on foot. One was named Abatan, the other Vonsanicin, both wise and valiant. They sailed from Zai-tun and Kin-sai, reached the isle, landed, and took possession of the plain and of a number of houses; but they had been unable to take any city or castle, when a sad misadventure occurred. A mutual jealousy arose amongst them, which prevented their acting in any concert. One day when the north wind blew very strong, the troops expressed to each other apprehensions, that if they remained, all the vessels would be wrecked. The whole then went on board and set sail. When they had proceeded about four miles, they found another small isle, on which, the storm being violent, a number

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Japan.

sought refuge. Others could not reach it, many of whom suffered shipwreck and perished; but some were preserved and sailed for their native country. Those who had landed, 30,000 in number, looked on themselves as dead men, seeing no means of ever escaping; and their anger and grief were increased, when they beheld the other ships making their way homeward.

The sovereign and people of the large isle rejoiced greatly when they saw the host thus scattered and many of them cast upon the islet. As soon as the sea calmed, they assembled a great number of ships, sailed thither and landed, hoping to capture all those refugees. But when the latter saw that their enemies had disembarked, leaving the vessels unguarded, they skilfully retreated to another quarter, and continued moving about till they reached the ships, and went on board without any opposition. They then sailed direct for the principal island, hoisting its own standards and ensigns. On seeing these, the people believed their own countrymen had returned, and allowed them to enter the city. The Tartars, finding it defended only by old men, soon drove them out, retaining the women as slaves. When the king and his warriors saw themselves thus deceived, and their city captured, they were like to die of grief; but they assembled other ships, and invested it so closely as to prevent all communication. The invaders maintained it seven months, and planned day and night how they might convey tidings to their master of their present condition; but finding this impossible, they agreed with the besiegers to surrender, securing only their lives. This took place in the year 1269. The great khan, however, ordered one of the commanders of this host to lose his head, and the other to be sent to the isle where he had caused the loss of so many men, and there put to death. I have to relate also a very wonderful thing, that these two barons took a number of persons in a castle of Zipangu, and because they had refused to surrender, ordered all their heads to be cut off; but there were eight on whom they could not execute this sentence, because these wore consecrated stones in the arm between the skin and the flesh, which so enchanted them, that they could not die by steel. They were therefore beaten to death with clubs, and the stones, being extracted, were held very precious.

## [MARCO POLO'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA]

*Hindu Customs and Superstitions.*

The men also of this kingdom [of Maabar] adore idols, and many worship the ox, saying, he is a valuable animal, and on no account would they kill him, or eat his flesh. Yet there is a race named gauï who eat it, but as they dare not slay the animal, they use only those that die a natural or accidental death. All the people, too, anoint their houses with its dung. It is the custom also that the king, barons, and other persons sit upon the ground, and when asked why they decline a more honourable seat, they say, 'We came from earth, and must return to it, and cannot too much honour this common mother.' These gauï who eat beef are the persons by whose ancestors St. Thomas the apostle was killed; hence none of this lineage can enter the place where he lies buried, nor could twenty men force them in, nor ten hold them there, on account of the virtue of that sacred body.

In this country there grows no grain but rice. It is remarkable that large fine horses in process of breeding produce only ponies with twisted legs, unfit for riding, and good for nothing. The people go to battle with lance and shield, entirely naked; yet are they not valiant and courageous, but mean and cowardly. They kill no animals of any description; but when they wish to eat their flesh, make them be slain by the Saracens and other nations, whose laws and customs are different. Both men and women wash the whole body in water twice every day, morning and evening, and till then will neither eat nor drink. He who omits this observance is regarded as we do a heretic.

Very severe justice is executed upon those who commit murder or any other trespass. When a creditor has repeatedly applied for payment and been deceived by fallacious promises, he takes the following course. He draws a circle round the debtor, who dares not move beyond it, till he has either made payment or given good security; and should he attempt to escape, he becomes liable to capital punishment. Marco himself, when returning homeward through this country, was eyewitness to a remarkable transaction of this nature. The king owed a sum of money to a foreign merchant, and being frequently solicited, he put him off with empty promises. One day,

when his majesty was riding out, the creditor took the opportunity of describing such a circle round his person. On seeing what had been done, the monarch immediately stopped, and did not move from the spot till the demand was satisfied. The people viewed with admiration this conduct, and pronounced their sovereign well entitled to the epithet of just.

Most persons abstain from drinking wine, and reject the testimony or guarantee of those who indulge in it; also of mariners, accounted a reckless and desperate race. Dissolute conduct is practised without censure. The heat is wonderful, and is the cause of their going naked. No rain falls except in June, July, and August, and were not the air cooled by showers during these three months, it would be impossible to live. Many are skilled in an art which they call physiognomy, which consists in knowing men or women, their qualities good or bad, by merely seeing them. They regard augury beyond any people in the world; for, I assure you, if a man sets out on a journey, and meets an omen deemed unlucky, he often turns back. Whenever a boy or girl is born, the father or mother causes the nativity to be written out, the day, month, and hour, and these are interpreted by astrologers learned in enchantment and the magical art.

As soon as a son attains the age of thirteen, he is set at liberty, and no longer allowed to remain in his father's house. He receives from twenty to twenty-four groats of their money, and is then considered capable of earning his own subsistence by some trade. These boys, accordingly, run about in all directions throughout the day, buying and selling. During the pearl-fishery, they frequent the beach and purchase from the fishermen five or six small ones, which they carry to the merchant, who, on account of the heat, has remained seated in his house. They tell him what they have paid, and demand a reasonable profit, which he usually gives. The day's business being over, they carry provision to their mothers, who prepare and dress it for their dinner; but they do not depend at all on their father for a maintenance.

Here, and throughout all India, the birds and beasts are different from ours, except one bird, which is the quail. They have also bald owls, which fly in the night; they have neither wings nor feathers, and are as large as an eagle. The eagles are black like crows, larger than ours, expert both at flying and hawking. Another thing worth

mentioning is, that they feed their horses with flesh and many other dishes cooked with rice. Their monasteries are filled with idols, to whom many young girls are devoted by their parents. They must go to the monastery whenever required by the superior, which is usually several times a week. They there sing, dance, and make great rejoicings. These young ladies also prepare savoury dishes of flesh and other food, which they carry to the sanctuary, and place before the idol as much as would make a good meal for a great lord. They then dance, sing, and rejoice, till time has been given for him to feed on the substance of the meat, when they take and eat it themselves, with great rejoicing. These ladies, who are very numerous, continue the same mode of life till after their marriage.

*St. Thomas (Madras), Legends respecting him*

This is in a small town of Maabar, containing few inhabitants, and seldom visited by merchants, there being little trade, and the roads difficult. Many Christians and Saracens, however, resort thither in pilgrimage: the latter esteem him a great saint, and even assert that he was a Mohammedan. But I will now relate a wonder. The Christians, who repair to that shrine, take from the place a red earth, carry it into their country, and give a small portion to any person sick of a fever, who is presently cured. But I have now a miracle to tell; for about the year 1288, a baron of this district had a great quantity of rice, and filled with it all the houses around the church. The pilgrims having thus no place to lodge, prayed him much to desist; but being fierce and proud, he paid no regard to their entreaty. Next night, accordingly, Messer St. Thomas appeared to him with a fork in his hand, which he thrust forcibly against his throat, causing severe pain, and saying, 'If you do not forthwith empty my houses, you shall die an evil death.' He disappeared, and the baron rose early in the morning, related the apparition, and caused all the buildings to be emptied. The Christians greatly rejoiced, and honoured this great apostle. I could relate other wonderful cures effected on persons labouring under various bodily infirmities; but I will now merely describe his death. He had left his hermitage in the wood, and was engaged in prayer, while around were a number of peacocks, which are more numerous here than elsewhere in the world. Now an idolatrous Gaudi, aiming at one of these birds, let fly an arrow without seeing the saint, whom, how-

ever, it struck on the right side; and finding himself thus wounded, he very mildly adored his Creator, and soon after expired. But before coming hither, he had converted many people in Nubia, as I will afterwards narrate.

When a child in this province is born, they anoint him every day with the oil of sesamé, which makes him become blacker than at birth; for whoever is most deeply tinted is honoured in proportion. Indeed, these people paint their god and all their idols black, and their devils white as snow. The men, when they go to battle, place such faith in the ox as a holy thing, that they take the hair of the wild bull, and if they fight on a horse, attach it to the neck; if on foot, to their shield; thinking themselves thus better secured against every danger. Hence, the hair of this animal sells at a considerable price.

. . .



III  
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS



## *Introductory Note.*

CHRISTOPHER, son of Domenico Columbus, a wool weaver, was born in Genoa in the year 1451. Until twenty-three years of age he lived in that city with his parents in the Vico Dritto di Ponticello. The call of the sea then came to him: and in 1474 he took part as a mariner in the first of a series of trading cruises to and from Genoa. Two years later he took up his abode in Lisbon, where in 1478 he married Philippa Moniz Perestrello, a lady of rank, whose position rendered possible the advancement of a poor sailor to the position of command which was essential to the fulfilment of his later ambition. For the next three years or so he lived at Porto Santo, a lonely island off Madeira. Whether Columbus actually voyaged to Iceland from Lisbon, or sailed to the Guinea coast while his home was at Porto Santo, is uncertain. At any rate during these years his imagination was being fired and evidence of sorts collected concerning the existence of an unknown land to the west. By 1483 his idea had become a dominant passion: he must go to Lisbon and enlist the support of King John, who was the moving spirit of African exploration by sea and land, and who had already tried to find Cathay by the north-east. His reception is well known. The learned experts confounded him with questions and finally tried to trick him by sending a fruitless expedition west of the *Cape de Verde* islands, while he was kept waiting. His appeals to Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile for several years met with no better response. Finally, in the spring of 1492, Isabella persuaded her cautious husband to risk ships and money in what seemed a crazy venture, but which might in this period of wonders turn to advantage.

The outward voyage may be followed in the extracts (given below) from the narrative of Las Casas, which is a précis of the much fuller account written by Columbus himself. Unfortunately this original log-book disappeared at an early stage. The 'Toscanelli letters', purporting to have been written by the famous Italian geographer to Columbus in support of his idea, are now proved to be forgeries. Possibly they were concocted by Christopher and his brother Bartholomew after the rebuff administered by the Portuguese savants, and were intended as reserve evidence in case of need. The navigator, however, never used or referred to them.

They are here reproduced as illustrating the ideas, not of Toscanelli, but of Columbus.

His subsequent expeditions of 1493-6, 1498, and 1503 have already been touched upon. They brought little glory to him, and much misery. Ever a dreamer, though a practical one, he quickly showed that he did not possess the qualities necessary for the good ruling of turbulent communities. His misgovernment at San Domingo and Hispaniola compelled Queen Isabella to order his arrest and return to Spain as a prisoner. Soon released, he spent the last years of his life wrangling with the government over certain percentages which he claimed. On 20 May 1506 he died at Valladolid completely neglected by the Grandees who owed so much to him.

## FIRST LETTER OF PAOLO TOSCANELLI TO COLUMBUS<sup>1</sup>

(Enclosing a map and a copy of his letter to Martins.)

### PROLOGUE TO COLUMBUS.

**P**AUL, the Physician, to Cristobal Colombo greeting. I perceive your magnificent and great desire to find a way to where the spices grow, and in reply to your letter I send you the copy of another letter which I wrote, some days ago, to a friend and favourite of the most serene King of Portugal before the wars of Castille, in reply to another which, by direction of his Highness, he wrote to me on the said subject, and I send you another sea chart like the one I sent him, by which you will be satisfied respecting your enquiries: which copy is as follows:

#### *A copy of the letter to Martins.*

‘Paul, the Physician, to Fernan Martins, Canon at Lisbon, greeting. It was pleasant to me to understand that your health was good, and that you are in the favour and intimacy with the most generous and most magnificent Prince, your King. I have already spoken with you respecting a shorter way to the places of spices than that which you take by Guinea, by means of maritime navigation. The most serene King now seeks from me some statement, or rather a demonstration to the eye, by which the slightly learned may take in and understand that way. I know this can be shown from the spherical shape of the earth, yet, to make the comprehension of it easier, and to facilitate the work, I have determined to show that way by means of a sailing chart. I, therefore, send to his Majesty a chart made by my own hands, on which are delineated your coasts and islands, whence you must begin to make your journey always westward, and the places at which you should arrive, and how far from the pole or the equinoctial line you ought to keep, and through how much space or over how many miles you should arrive at those most fertile places full of all sorts of spices and jewels. You must

<sup>1</sup> This letter and the extracts from the *Journal* which follow are reprinted from the Hakluyt Society’s edition (*The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, ed. Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., &c., 1892, 1st series, No. 86) by kind permission of the Society.

not be surprised if I call the parts where the spices are west, when they usually call them east, because to those always sailing west, those parts are found by navigation on the under side of the earth. But if by land and by the upper side, they will always be found to the east. The straight lines shown lengthways on the map indicate the distance from east to west, and those that are drawn across show the spaces from south to north. I have also noted on the map several places at which you may arrive for the better information of navigators, if they should reach a place different from what was expected, by reason of the wind or any other cause; and also that they may show some acquaintance with the country to the natives, which ought to be sufficiently agreeable to them. It is asserted that none but merchants live on the islands. For there the number of navigators with merchandise is so great that in all the rest of the world there are not so many as in one most noble port called Zaitun. For they affirm that a hundred ships laden with pepper discharge their cargoes in that port in a single year, besides other ships bringing other spices. That country is very populous and very rich, with a multitude of provinces and kingdoms, and with cities without number, under one prince who is called Great Kan, which name signifies *Rex Regum* in Latin, whose seat and residence is generally in the province Katay. His ancestors desired intercourse with Christians now 200 years ago. They sent to the Pope and asked for several persons learned in the faith, that they might be enlightened, but those who were sent, being impeded in their journey, went back. Also in the time of Eugenius, one of them came to Eugenius, who affirmed their great kindness towards Christians, and I had a long conversation with him on many subjects, about the magnitude of their rivers in length and breadth, and on the multitude of cities on the banks of the rivers. He said that on one river there were near two hundred cities with marble bridges great in length and breadth, and everywhere adorned with columns. This country is worth seeking by the Latins, not only because great wealth may be obtained from it, gold and silver, all sorts of gems, and spices, which never reach us; but also on account of its learned men, philosophers, and expert astrologers, and by what skill and art so powerful and magnificent a province is governed, as well as how their wars are conducted. This is for some satisfaction to his request, so far as the shortness of time and my occupations admitted: being ready in

future more fully to satisfy his royal Majesty as far as he may wish.

‘ Given at Florence, June 24th, 1474.’

*Letter to Columbus Resumed.*

From the city of Lisbon due west there are 26 spaces marked on the map, each of which has 250 miles, as far as the most noble and very great city of Quinsay. For it is a hundred miles in circumference and has ten bridges, and its name signifies the city of Heaven; many wonders being related concerning it, touching the multitude of its handicrafts and resources. This space is almost a third part of the whole sphere. That city is in the province of Mangi, or near the province Katay, in which land is the royal residence. But from the island Antilia, known to you, to the most noble island of Cippanque<sup>1</sup> there are ten spaces. For that island is most fertile in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold. Thus the spaces of sea to be crossed in the unknown parts are not great. Many things might perhaps have been declared more exactly, but a diligent thinker will be able to clear up the rest for himself. Farewell, most excellent one.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Japan.

## JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS

### *Journal of the First Voyage of Columbus.*

This is the first voyage and the routes and direction taken by the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon when he discovered the Indies, summarized; except the prologue made for the Sovereigns, which is given word for word and commences in this manner.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Because, O most Christian, and very high, very excellent, and puissant Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the islands of the Sea, our Lords, in this present year of 1492, after your Highnesses had given an end to the war with the Moors who reigned in Europe, and had finished it in the very great city of Granada, where in this present year, on the second day of the month of January, by force of arms, I saw the royal banners of your Highnesses placed on the towers of Alfambra, which is the fortress of that city, and I saw the Moorish King come forth from the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses, and of the Prince my Lord, and presently in that same month, acting on the information that I had given to your Highnesses touching the lands of India, and respecting a Prince who is called *Gran Can*, which means in our language King of Kings, how he and his ancestors had sent to Rome many times to ask for learned men of our holy faith to teach him, and how the Holy Father had never complied, insomuch that many people believing in idolatries were lost by receiving doctrine of perdition: Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and Princes who love the holy Christian faith, and the propagation of it, and who are enemies to the sect of Mahoma and to all idolatries and heresies, resolved to send me, Cristobal Colon, to the said parts of India to see the said princes, and the cities and lands, and their disposition, with a view that they might be converted to our holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by land to the eastward, as had been customary, but that I should go by way of the west, whither up to this day, we do not know for certain that any one has gone.

Thus, after having turned out all the Jews from all your kingdoms and lordships, in the same month of January, your Highnesses gave orders to me that with a sufficient fleet I should go to the



A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SHIP

From a MS. illustration



said parts of India, and for this they made great concessions to me, and ennobled me, so that henceforward I should be called Don, and should be Chief Admiral of the Ocean Sea, perpetual Viceroy and Governor of all the islands and continents that I should discover and gain, and that I might hereafter discover and gain in the Ocean Sea, and that my eldest son should succeed, and so on from generation to generation for ever.

I left the city of Granada on the 12th day of May, in the same year of 1492, being Saturday, and came to the town of Palos, which is a seaport; where I equipped three vessels well suited for such service; and departed from that port, well supplied with provisions and with many sailors, on the 3rd day of August of the same year, being Friday, half an hour before sunrise, taking the route to the islands of Canaria, belonging to your Highnesses, which are in the said Ocean Sea, that I might thence take my departure for navigating until I should arrive at the Indies, and give the letters of your Highnesses to those princes, so as to comply with my orders. As part of my duty I thought it well to write an account of all the voyage very punctually, noting from day to day all that I should do and see, and that should happen, as will be seen further on. Also, Lords Princes, I resolved to describe each night what passed in the day, and to note each day how I navigated at night. I propose to construct a new chart for navigating, on which I shall delineate all the sea and lands of the Ocean in their proper positions under their bearings; and further, I propose to prepare a book, and to put down all, as it were, in a picture, by latitude from the equator, and western longitude. Above all, I shall have accomplished much, for I shall forget sleep, and shall work at the business of navigation, that so the service may be performed; all which will entail great labour.

*Friday, 3rd of August.* We departed on Friday, the 3rd of August, in the year 1492, from the bar of Saltes, at 8 o'clock, and proceeded with a strong sea breeze until sunset, towards the south, for 60 miles, equal to 15 leagues; afterwards S.W. and W.S.W. which was the course for the Canaries.

*Saturday, 4th of August.* They steered S.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S.

*Sunday, 5th of August.* They continued their course day and night more than 40 leagues.

*Monday, 6th of August.* The rudder of the caravel *Pinta* became unshipped, and Martin Alonso Pinzon, who was in command, believed or suspected that it was by contrivance of Gomes Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, to whom the caravel belonged, for they dreaded to go on that voyage. The Admiral says that, before they sailed, these men had been displaying a certain backwardness, so to speak. The admiral was much disturbed at not being able to help the said caravel without danger, and he says that he was eased of some anxiety when he reflected that Martin Alonso Pinzon was a man of energy and ingenuity. They made, during the day and night, 29 leagues.

*Tuesday, 7th of August.* The rudder of the *Pinta* was shipped and secured, and they proceeded on a course for the island of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries. They made, during the day and night, 25 leagues.

*Wednesday, 8th of August.* Opinions respecting their position varied among the pilots of the three caravels; but that of the Admiral proved to be nearer the truth. He wished to go to Gran Canaria, to leave the caravel *Pinta*, because she was disabled by the faulty hanging of her rudder, and was making water. He intended to obtain another there if one could be found. They could not reach the place that day.

*Thursday, 9th of August.* The Admiral was not able to reach Gomera until the night of Sunday, while Martin Alonso remained on that coast of Gran Canaria by order of the Admiral, because his vessel could not be navigated. Afterwards the Admiral took her to Canaria, and they repaired the *Pinta* very thoroughly through the pains and labour of the Admiral, of Martin Alonso, and of the rest. Finally they came to Gomera. They saw a great fire issue from the mountain of the island of Tenerife, which is of great height. They rigged the *Pinta* with square sails, for she was lateen rigged; and the Admiral reached Gomera on Sunday, the 2nd of September, with the *Pinta* repaired.

The Admiral says that many honourable Spanish gentlemen who were at Gomera with Doña Ines Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza (who was afterwards the first Count of Gomera), and who were natives of the island of Hierro, declared that every year they saw

land to the west of the Canaries; and others, natives of Gomera, affirmed the same on oath. The Admiral here says that he remembers, when in Portugal in the year 1484, a man came to the King from the island of Madeira, to beg for a caravel to go to this land that was seen, who swore that it could be seen every year, and always in the same way. He also says that he recollects the same thing being affirmed in the islands of the Azores; and all these lands were described as in the same direction, and as being like each other, and of the same size.

Having taken in water, wood, and meat, and all else that the men had who were left at Gomera by the Admiral when he went to the island of Canaria to repair the caravel *Pinta*, he finally made sail from the said island of Gomera, with his three caravels, on Thursday, the 6th day of September.

*Thursday, 6th of September.* He departed on that day from the port of Gomera in the morning, and shaped a course to go on his voyage; having received tidings from a caravel that came from the island of Hierro that three Portuguese caravels were off that island with the object of taking him. (This must have been the result of the King's annoyance that Colon should have gone to Castille.) There was a calm all that day and night, and in the morning he found himself between Gomera and Tenerife.

*Friday, 7th of September.* The calm continued all Friday and Saturday, until the third hour of the night.

*Saturday, 8th of September.* At the third hour of Saturday night it began to blow from the N.E., and the Admiral shaped a course to the west. He took in much sea over the bows, which retarded progress, and 9 leagues were made in that day and night.

*Sunday, 9th of September.* This day the Admiral made 19 leagues, and he arranged to reckon less than the number run, because if the voyage was of long duration, the people would not be so terrified and disheartened. In the night he made 120 miles, at the rate of 12 miles an hour, which are 30 leagues. The sailors steered badly, letting the ship fall off to N.E., and even more, respecting which the Admiral complained many times.

*Monday, 10th of September.* In this day and night he made 60

leagues, at the rate of 10 miles an hour, which are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  leagues; but he only counted 48 leagues, that the people might not be alarmed if the voyage should be long.

*Tuesday, 11th of September.* That day they sailed on their course, which was west, and made 20 leagues and more. They saw a large piece of the mast of a ship of 120 tons, but were unable to get it. In the night they made nearly 20 leagues, but only counted 16, for the reason already given.

*Wednesday, 12th of September.* That day, steering their course, they made 33 leagues during the day and night, counting less.

*Thursday, 13th of September.* That day and night, steering their course, which was west, they made 33 leagues, counting 3 or 4 less. The currents were against them. On this day, at the commencement of the night, the needles turned a half point to north-west, and in the morning they turned somewhat more north-west.

*Friday, 14th of September.* That day they navigated, on their westerly course, day and night, 20 leagues, counting a little less. Here those of the caravel *Niña* reported that they had seen a tern and a boatswain bird, and these birds never go more than 25 leagues from the land.

*Saturday, 15th of September.* That day and night they made 27 leagues and rather more on their west course; and in the early part of the night fell from heaven into the sea a marvellous flame of fire, at a distance of about 4 or 5 leagues from them.

*Sunday, 16th of September.* That day and night they steered their course west, making 39 leagues, but the Admiral only counted 36. There were some clouds and small rain. The Admiral says that on that day, and ever afterwards, they met with very temperate breezes, so that there was great pleasure in enjoying the mornings, nothing being wanted but the song of nightingales. He says that the weather was like April in Andalusia. Here they began to see many tufts of grass which were very green, and appeared to have been quite recently torn from the land. From this they judged that they were near some island, but not the main land, according to the Admiral, 'because', as he says, 'I make the main land to be more distant.'

*Monday, 17th of September.* They proceeded on their west course, and made over 50 leagues in the day and night, but the Admiral only counted 47. They were aided by the current. They saw much very fine grass and herbs from rocks, which came from the west. They, therefore, considered that they were near land. The pilots observed the north point, and found that the needles turned a full point to the west of north. So the mariners were alarmed and dejected, and did not give their reason. But the Admiral knew, and ordered that the north should be again observed at dawn. They then found that the needles were true. The cause was that the star makes the movement, and not the needles. At dawn, on that Monday, they saw much more weed appearing, like herbs from rivers, in which they found a live crab, which the Admiral kept. He says that these crabs are certain signs of land. The sea-water was found to be less salt than it had been since leaving the Canaries. The breezes were always soft. Everyone was pleased, and the best sailers went ahead to sight the first land. They saw many tunny-fish, and the crew of the *Niña* killed one. The Admiral here says that these signs of land came from the west, 'in which direction I trust in that high God, in whose hands are all victories, that very soon we shall sight land'. In that morning he says that a white bird was seen which has not the habit of sleeping on the sea, called *rabo de junco* (boatswain-bird).

*Tuesday, 18th of September.* This day and night they made over 55 leagues, the Admiral only counting 48. In all these days the sea was very smooth, like the river at Seville. This day Martin Alonso, with the *Pinta*, which was a fast sailer, did not wait, for he said to the Admiral, from his caravel, that he had seen a great multitude of birds flying westward, that he hoped to see land that night, and that he therefore pressed onward. A great cloud appeared in the north, which is a sign of the proximity of land.

*Wednesday, 19th of September.* The Admiral continued on his course, and during the day and night he made but 25 leagues because it was calm. He counted 22. This day, at 10 o'clock, a booby came to the ship, and in the afternoon another arrived, these birds not generally going more than 20 leagues from the land. There was also some drizzling rain without wind, which is a sure sign of land. The Admiral did not wish to cause delay by beating to windward

to ascertain whether land was near, but he considered it certain that there were islands both to the north and south of his position, (as indeed there were, and he was passing through the middle of them). For his desire was to press onwards to the Indies, the weather being fine. For on his return, God willing, he could see all. These are his own words. Here the pilots found their positions. He of the *Niña* made the Canaries 440 leagues distant, the *Pinta* 420. The pilot of the Admiral's ship made the distance exactly 400 leagues.

*Thursday, 20th of September.* This day the course was W.b.N., and as her head was all round the compass owing to the calm that prevailed, the ships made only 7 or 8 leagues. Two boobies came to the ship, and afterwards another, a sign of the proximity of land. They saw much weed, although none was seen on the previous day. They caught a bird with the hand, which was like a tern. But it was a river-bird, not a sea-bird, the feet being like those of a gull. At dawn two or three land-birds came singing to the ship, and they disappeared before sunset. Afterwards a booby came from W.N.W. and flew to the S.W., which was a sign that it left land in the W.N.W.; for these birds sleep on shore, and go to sea in the mornings in search of food, not extending their flight more than 20 leagues from the land.

*Friday, 21st of September.* Most of the day it was calm, and later there was a little wind. During the day and night they did not make good more than 13 leagues. At dawn they saw so much weed that the sea appeared to be covered with it, and it came from the west. A booby was seen. The sea was very smooth, like a river, and the air the best in the world. They saw a whale, which is a sign that they were near land, because they always keep near the shore.

*Saturday, 22nd of September.* They shaped a course W.N.W. more or less, her head turning from one to the other point, and made 30 leagues. Scarcely any weed was seen. They saw some sandpipers and another bird. Here the Admiral says: 'This contrary wind was very necessary for me, because my people were much excited at the thought that in these seas no wind ever blew in the direction of Spain.' Part of the day there was no weed, and later it was very thick.

*Sunday, 23rd of September.* They shaped a course N.W., and a

times more northerly; occasionally they were on their course, which was west, and they made about 22 leagues. They saw a dove and a booby, another river-bird, and some white birds. There was a great deal of weed, and they found crabs in it. The sea being smooth and calm, the crew began to murmur, saying that here there was no great sea, and that the wind would never blow so that they could return to Spain. Afterwards the sea rose very much, without wind, which astonished them. The Admiral here says: 'Thus the high sea was very necessary to me, such as had not appeared but in the time of the Jews when they went out of Egypt and murmured against Moses, who delivered them out of captivity.'

*Monday, 24th of September.* The Admiral went on his west course all day and night, making 14 leagues. He counted 12. A booby came to the ship, and many sandpipers.

*Tuesday, 25th of September.* This day began with a calm, and afterwards there was wind. They were on their west course until night. The Admiral conversed with Martin Alonso Pinzon, captain of the other caravel *Pinta*, respecting a chart which he had sent to the caravel three days before, on which, as it would appear, the Admiral had certain islands depicted in that sea. Martin Alonso said that the ships were in the position on which the islands were placed, and the Admiral replied that so it appeared to him: but it might be that they had not fallen in with them, owing to the currents which had always set the ships to the N.E., and that they had not made so much as the pilots reported. The Admiral then asked for the chart to be returned, and it was sent back on a line. The Admiral then began to plot the position on it, with the pilot and mariners. At sunset Martin Alonso went up on the poop of his ship, and with much joy called to the Admiral, claiming the reward as he had sighted land. When the Admiral heard this positively declared, he says that he gave thanks to the Lord on his knees, while Martin Alonso said the *Gloria in Excelsis* with his people. The Admiral's crew did the same. Those of the *Niña* all went up on the mast and into the rigging, and declared that it was land. It so seemed to the Admiral, and that it was distant 25 leagues. They all continued to declare it was land until night. The Admiral ordered the course to be altered from W. to S.W., in which direction the land had appeared. That day they made 4 leagues on a west course, and 17 S.W. during the

night, in all 21; but the people were told that 13 was the distance made good: for it was always feigned to them that the distances were less, so that the voyage might not appear so long. Thus two reckonings were kept on this voyage, the shorter being feigned, and the longer being the true one. The sea was very smooth, so that many sailors bathed alongside. They saw many *dorados* and other fish.

*Wednesday, 26th of September.* The Admiral continued on the west course until afternoon. Then he altered course to S.W., until he made out that what had been said to be land was only clouds. Day and night they made 31 leagues, counting 24 for the people. The sea was like a river, the air pleasant and very mild.

*Thursday, 27th of September.* The course west, and distance made good during day and night 24 leagues, 20 being counted for the people. Many *dorados* came. One was killed. A boatswain-bird came.

*Friday, 28th of September.* The course was west, and the distance owing to calms, only 14 leagues in day and night, 13 leagues being counted. They met with little weed; but caught two *dorados*, and more in the other ships.

*Saturday, 29th of September.* The course was west, and they made 24 leagues, counting 21 for the people. Owing to calms, the distance made good during day and night was not much. They saw a bird called *rabiforcado* (man-o'-war bird), which makes the boobies vomit what they have swallowed, and eats it, maintaining itself on nothing else. It is a sea-bird, but does not sleep on the sea, and does not go more than 20 leagues from the land. There are many of them at the Cape Verde Islands. Afterwards they saw two boobies. The air was very mild and agreeable, and the Admiral says that nothing was wanting but to hear the nightingale. The sea smooth as a river. Later, three boobies and a man-o'-war bird were seen three times. There was much weed.

*Sunday, 30th of September.* The western course was steered, and during the day and night, owing to calms, only 14 leagues were made, 11 being counted. Four boatswain-birds came to the ship, which is a great sign of land, for so many birds of this kind together

is a sign that they are not straying or lost. They also twice saw four boobies. There was much weed. *Note* that the stars which are called *las guardias* (The Pointers), when night comes on, are near the western point, and when dawn breaks they are near the N.E. point; so that, during the whole night, they do not appear to move more than three lines, or 9 hours, and this on each night. The Admiral says this, and also that at nightfall the needles vary a point westerly, while at dawn they agree exactly with the star. From this it would appear that the north star has a movement like the other stars, while the needles always point correctly.

*Monday, 1st of October.* Course west, and 25 leagues made good, counted for the crew as 20 leagues. There was a heavy shower of rain. At dawn the Admiral's pilot made the distance from Hierro 578 leagues to the west. The reduced reckoning which the Admiral showed to the crew made it 584 leagues; but the truth which the Admiral observed and kept secret was 707.

*Tuesday, 2nd of October.* Course west, and during the day and night 39 leagues were made good, counted for the crew as 30. The sea always smooth. Many thanks be given to God, says the Admiral, that the weed is coming from east to west, contrary to its usual course. Many fish were seen, and one was killed. A white bird was also seen that appeared to be a gull.

*Wednesday, 3rd of October.* They navigated on the usual course, and made good 47 leagues, counted as 40. Sandpipers appeared, and much weed, some of it very old and some quite fresh and having fruit. They saw no birds. The Admiral, therefore, thought that they had left the islands behind them which were depicted on the charts. The Admiral here says that he did not wish to keep the ships beating about during the last week, and in the last few days when there were so many signs of land, although he had information of certain islands in this region. For he wished to avoid delay, his object being to reach the Indies. He says that to delay would not be wise.

*Thursday, 4th of October.* Course west, and 63 leagues made good during the day and night, counted as 46. More than forty sandpipers came to the ship in a flock, and two boobies, and a ship's

boy hit one with a stone. There also came a man-'o-war bird and a white bird like a gull.

*Friday, 5th of October.* The Admiral steered his course, going 11 miles an hour, and during the day and night they made good 57 leagues, as the wind increased somewhat during the night: 45 were counted. The sea was smooth and quiet. 'To God', he says, 'be many thanks given, the air being pleasant and temperate, with no weed, many sandpipers, and flying-fish coming on the deck in numbers.'

*Saturday, 6th of October.* The Admiral continued his west course, and during day and night they made good 40 leagues, 33 being counted. This night Martin Alonso said that it would be well to steer south of west, and it appeared to the Admiral that Martin Alonso did not say this with respect to the island of Cipango.<sup>1</sup> He saw that if an error was made the land would not be reached so quickly, and that consequently it would be better to go at once to the continent and afterwards to the islands.

*Sunday, 7th of October.* The west course was continued; for two hours they went at the rate of 12 miles an hour, and afterwards at 8 miles an hour. They made good 23 leagues, counting 18 for the people. This day, at sunrise, the caravel *Niña*, which went ahead, being the best sailer, and pushed forward as much as possible to sight the land first, so as to enjoy the reward which the Sovereigns had promised to whoever should see it first, hoisted a flag at the mast-head and fired a gun, as a signal that she had sighted land, for such was the Admiral's order. He had also ordered that, at sunrise and sunset, all the ships should join him; because those two times are most proper for seeing the greatest distance, the haze clearing away. No land was seen during the afternoon, as reported by the caravel *Niña*, and they passed a great number of birds flying from N. to S.W. This gave rise to the belief that the birds were either going to sleep on land, or were flying from the winter which might be supposed to be near in the land whence they were coming. The Admiral was aware that most of the islands held by the Portuguese were discovered by the flight of birds. For this reason he resolved to give up the west course, and to shape a course W.S.W. for the

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Japan.

two following days. He began the new course one hour before sunset. They made good during the night, about 5 leagues, and 23 in the day, altogether 28 leagues.

*Monday, 8th of October.* The course was W.S.W. and 11½ or 12 leagues were made good in the day and night; and at times it appears that they went at the rate of 15 miles an hour during the night (if the handwriting is not deceptive). The sea was like the river at Seville. 'Thanks be to God,' says the Admiral, 'the air is very soft like the April at Seville; and it is a pleasure to be here, so balmy are the breezes.' The weed seemed to be very fresh. There were many land-birds, and they took one that was flying to the S.W. Terns, ducks, and a booby were also seen.

*Tuesday, 9th of October.* The course was S.W., and they made 5 leagues. The wind then changed, and the Admiral steered W. by N. 4 leagues. Altogether, in day and night, they made 11 leagues by day and 20½ leagues by night; counted as 17 leagues altogether. Throughout the night, birds were heard passing.

*Wednesday, 10th of October.* The course was W.S.W., and they went at the rate of 10 miles an hour, occasionally 12 miles, and sometimes 7. During the day and night they made 59 leagues, counted as no more than 44. Here the people could endure no longer. They complained of the length of the voyage. But the Admiral cheered them up in the best way he could, giving them good hopes of the advantages they might gain from it. He added that, however much they might complain, he had to go to the Indies, and that he would go on until he found them, with the help of our Lord.

*Thursday, 11th of October.* The course was W.S.W., and there was more sea than there had been during the whole of the voyage. They saw sandpipers, and a green reed near the ship. Those of the caravel *Pinta* saw a cane and a pole, and they took up another small pole which appeared to have been worked with iron; also another bit of cane, a land-plant, and a small board. The crew of the caravel *Niña* also saw signs of land, and a small branch covered with berries. Everyone breathed afresh and rejoiced at these signs. The run until sunset was 26 leagues.

After sunset the Admiral returned to his original west course, and they went along at the rate of 12 miles an hour. Up to two hours after midnight they had gone 90 miles, equal to  $22\frac{1}{2}$  leagues. As the caravel *Pinta* was a better sailer, and went ahead of the Admiral, she found the land, and made the signals ordered by the Admiral. The land was first seen by a sailor named Rodrigo de Triana. But the Admiral, at ten in the previous night, being on the castle of the poop, saw a light, though it was so uncertain that he could not affirm it was land. He called Pero Gutierrez, a gentleman of the King's bedchamber, and said that there seemed to be a light, and that he should look at it. He did so, and saw it. The Admiral said the same to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, whom the King and Queen had sent with the fleet as inspector, but he could see nothing, because he was not in a place whence anything could be seen. After the Admiral had spoken he saw the light once or twice, and it was like a wax candle rising and falling. It seemed to few to be an indication of land; but the Admiral made certain that land was close. When they said the *Salve*, which all the sailors were accustomed to sing in their way, the Admiral asked and admonished the men to keep a good look-out on the forecandle, and to watch well for land; and to him who should first cry out that he saw land, he would give a silk doublet, besides the other rewards promised by the Sovereigns, which were 10,000 maravedis to him who should first see it. At two hours after midnight the land was sighted at a distance of two leagues. They shortened sail, and lay by under the main-sail without the bonnets. The vessels were hove to, waiting for daylight; and on Friday they arrived at a small island of the Lucayos, called, in the language of the Indians, Guanahani.<sup>1</sup> Presently they saw naked people. The Admiral went on shore in the armed boat, and Martin Alonso Pinzon, and Vicente Yañez, his brother, who was captain of the *Niña*. The Admiral took the royal standard, and the captains went with two banners of the green cross, which the Admiral took in all the ships as a sign, with an 'F' and a 'Y' and a crown over each letter, one on one side of the cross and the other on the other. Having landed, they saw trees very green, and much water, and fruits of diverse kinds. The Admiral called to the two captains, and to the others who leaped on shore,

<sup>1</sup> Named by Columbus San Salvador, now known as Watling Island. It is situated in about the middle of the great Bahama Bank.

and to Rodrigo Escovedo, secretary of the whole fleet, and to Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and said that they should bear faithful testimony that he, in the presence of all, had taken, as he now took, possession of the said island for the King and for the Queen, his Lords making the declarations that are required, as is most largely set forth in the testimonies which were then made in writing.

Presently many inhabitants of the island assembled. What follows is in the actual words of the Admiral in his book of the first navigation and discovery of the Indies. 'I', he says, 'that we might form great friendship, for I knew that they were a people who could be more easily freed and converted to our holy faith by love than by force, gave to some of them red caps, and glass beads to put round their necks, and many other things of little value, which gave them great pleasure, and made them so much our friends that it was a marvel to see. They afterwards came to the ship's boats where we were, swimming and bringing us parrots, cotton threads in skeins, darts, and many other things; and we exchanged them for other things that we gave them, such as glass beads and small bells. In fine, they took all, and gave what they had with goodwill. It appeared to me to be a race of people very poor in everything. They go as naked as when their mothers bore them, and so do the women, although I did not see more than one young girl. All I saw were youths, none more than thirty years of age. They are very well made, with very handsome bodies, and very good countenances. Their hair is short and coarse, almost like the hairs of a horse's tail. They wear the hairs brought down to the eyebrows, except a few locks behind, which they wear long and never cut. They paint themselves black, and they are the colour of the Canarians, neither black nor white. Some paint themselves white, others red, and others of what colour they find. Some paint their faces, others the whole body, some only round the eyes, others only on the nose. They neither carry nor know anything of arms, for I showed them swords, and they took them by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their darts being wands without iron, some of them having a fish's tooth at the end, and others being pointed in various ways. They are all of fair stature and size, with good faces, and well made. I saw some with marks of wounds on their bodies, and I made signs to ask what it was, and they gave me to understand that people from other adjacent islands came with the

# De Insulis nuper in mari Indico repertis



A bookman's fantastic illustration of Columbus discovering  
America.

intention of seizing them, and that they defended themselves. I believed, and still believe, that they come here from the mainland to take them prisoners. They should be good servants and intelligent, for I observed that they quickly took in what was said to them, and I believe that they would easily be made Christians, as it appeared to me that they had no religion. I, our Lord being pleased, will take hence, at the time of my departure, six natives for your Highnesses, that they may learn to speak. I saw no beast of any kind except parrots, on this island.' The above is in the words of the Admiral.

*Saturday, 13th of October.* 'As soon as dawn broke many of these people came to the beach, all youths, as I have said, and all of good stature, a very handsome people. Their hair is not curly, but loose and coarse, like horse hair. In all the forehead is broad, more so than in any other people I have hitherto seen. Their eyes are very beautiful and not small, and themselves far from black, but the colour of the Canarians. Nor should anything else be expected, as this island is in a line east and west from the island of Hierro in the Canaries. Their legs are very straight, all in one line, and no belly, but very well formed. They came to the ship in small canoes, made out of the trunk of a tree like a long boat, and all of one piece, and wonderfully worked, considering the country. They are large, some of them holding 40 to 45 men, others smaller, and some only large enough to hold one man. They are propelled with a paddle like a baker's shovel, and go at a marvellous rate. If the canoe capsizes they all promptly begin to swim, and to bale it out with calabashes that they take with them. They brought skeins of cotton thread, parrots, darts and other small things which it would be tedious to recount, and they give all in exchange for anything that may be given to them. I was attentive, and took trouble to ascertain if there was gold. I saw that some of them had a small piece fastened in a hole they have in the nose, and by signs I was able to make out that to the south, and going from the island to the south, there was a king who had great cups full, and who possessed a great quantity. I tried to get them to go there, but afterwards I saw that they had no inclination. I resolved to wait until to-morrow in the afternoon and then to depart, shaping a course to the S.W., for, according to what many of them told me there was land to the S., to the S.W., and

N.W., and that the natives from the N.W. often came to attack them, and went on to the S.W. in search of gold and precious stones.

This island is rather large and very flat, with bright green trees, much water, and a very large lake in the centre, without any mountain, and the whole land so green that it is a pleasure to look on it. The people are very docile, and for the longing to possess our things, and not having anything to give in return, they take what they can get, and presently swim away. Still, they give away all they have got, for whatever may be given to them, down to broken bits of crockery and glass. I saw one give 16 skeins of cotton for three *ceotis* of Portugal, equal to one *blanca* of Spain, the skeins being as much as an *arroba* of cotton thread. I shall keep it, and shall allow no one to take it, preserving it all for your Highnesses, for it may be obtained in abundance. It is grown in this island, though the short time did not admit of my ascertaining this for a certainty. Here also is found the gold they wear fastened in their noses. But, in order not to lose time, I intend to go and see if I can find the island of Cipango. Now, as it is night, all the natives have gone on shore with their canoes.'

*Sunday, 14th of October.* 'At dawn I ordered the ship's boat and the boats of the caravels to be got ready, and I went along the coast of the island to the N.N.E. to see the other side, which was on the other side to the east, and also to see the villages. Presently I saw two or three, and the people all came to the shore, calling out and giving thanks to God. Some of them brought us water, others came with food, and when they saw that I did not want to land, they got into the sea, and came swimming to us. We understood that they asked us if we had come from heaven. One old man came into the boat, and others cried out, in loud voices, to all the men and women, to come and see the men who had come from heaven, and to bring them to eat and drink. Many came, including women, each bringing something, giving thanks to God, throwing themselves on the ground and shouting to us to come on shore. But I was afraid to land, seeing an extensive reef of rocks which surrounded the island, with deep water between it and the shore forming a port large enough for as many ships as there are in Christendom, but with a very narrow entrance. It is true that within this reef there are some sunken rocks, but the sea has no more motion than the water in a

well. In order to see all this I went this morning, that I might be able to give a full account to your Highnesses, and also where a fortress might be established. I saw a piece of land which appeared like an island, although it is not one, and on it there were six houses. It might be converted into an island in two days, though I do not see that it would be necessary, for these people are very simple as regards the use of arms, as your Highnesses will see from the seven that I caused to be taken, to bring home and learn our language and return; unless your Highnesses should order them all to be brought to Castille, or to be kept as captives on the same island; for with fifty men they can all be subjugated and made to do what is required of them. Close to the above peninsula there are gardens of the most beautiful trees I ever saw, and with leaves as green as those of Castille in the month of April and May, and much water. I examined all that port, and afterwards I returned to the ship and made sail. I saw so many islands that I hardly knew how to determine to which I should go first. Those natives I had with me said, by signs, that there were so many that they could not be numbered, and they gave the names of more than a hundred. At last I looked out for the largest, and resolved to shape a course for it, and so I did. It will be distant five leagues from this of *San Salvador*, and the others some more, some less. All are very flat, and all are inhabited. The natives make war on each other, although these are very simple-minded and handsomely formed people.

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[Setting sail the same afternoon, he discovered next day another island to the south-east, of which he took formal possession, naming it Santa Maria de la Concepción—now known as Rum Cay. On Tuesday evening Long Island, which he named Fernandina, was reached. Here quantities of cotton were obtained from the natives in exchange for beads. As ever, Columbus is almost lyrical in his praise of the natural beauty of the place: but Cathay and the Great Khan have yet to be found. And so, after searching in vain for gold on Crooked Island—called by him Isabella—he weighed anchor on October 24th for Cuba, which he thought must be Cipango, ‘according to the signs these people make, indicative of its size and riches.’]

*Sunday, 28th of October.* ‘I went thence in search of the island of Cuba on a S.S.W. coast, making for the nearest point of it, and en-

tered a very beautiful river without danger of sunken rocks or other impediments. All the coast was clear of dangers up to the shore. The mouth of the river was 12 *brazos* across, and it is wide enough for a vessel to beat in. I anchored about a lombard-shot inside.' The Admiral says that 'he never beheld such a beautiful place, with trees bordering the river, handsome, green, and different from ours, having fruits and flowers each one according to its nature. There are many birds, which sing very sweetly. There are a great number of palm trees of a different kind from those in Guinea and from ours, of a middling height, the trunks without that covering, and the leaves very large, with which they thatch their houses. The country is very level.' The Admiral jumped into his boat and went on shore. He came to two houses, which he believed to belong to fishermen who had fled from fear. In one of them he found a kind of dog that never barks, and in both there were nets of palm-fibre and cordage, as well as horn fish-hooks, bone harpoons, and other apparatus 'for fishing, and several hearths. He believed that many people lived together in one house. He gave orders that nothing in the houses should be touched, and so it was done.' The herbage was as thick as in Andalusia during April and May. He found much purslane and wild amaranth. He returned to the boat and went up the river for some distance, and he says it was great pleasure to see the bright verdure, and the birds, which he could not leave to go back. He says that this island is the most beautiful that eyes have seen, full of good harbours and deep rivers, and the sea appeared as if it never rose; for the herbage on the beach nearly reached the waves, which does not happen where the sea is rough. (Up to that time they had not experienced a rough sea among all those islands.) He says that the island is full of very beautiful mountains, although they are not very extensive as regards length, but high; and all the country is high like Sicily. It is abundantly supplied with water, as they gathered from the Indians they had taken with them from the island of Guanahani. These said by signs that there are ten great rivers, and that they cannot go round the island in twenty days. When they came near land with the ships, two canoes came out; and, when they saw the sailors get into a boat and row about to find the depth of the river where they could anchor, the canoes fled. The Indians say that in this island there are gold mines and pearls, and the Admiral saw a likely place for them and mussel-shells, which are

signs of them. He understood that large ships of the Gran Can came here, and that from here to the mainland was a voyage of ten days. The Admiral called this river and harbour *San Salvador*.

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[On Tuesday, 30th October, Columbus was informed that four days' journey up a neighbouring river would bring one to the great city of Cuba, which abounded in gold, and that the king of the country was at war with a monarch called *Cami*—obviously the Great Khan himself. An embassy was accordingly dispatched to the city to gain information, while Columbus and the ships explored the coast until compelled by bad weather to return to the Rio de Mares. Here further interrogation of the natives took place concerning Cathay. They obligingly replied that unlimited quantities of spices, pearls, and gold were to be had at a place called *Bohio* somewhere to the south-east. To the general disappointment, the embassy reported on its return (6th November) that the 'city' was no more than a poor village of fifty houses. Weighing anchor on 12th November, Columbus proceeded south-east along the Cuban coast, which he asserted was the mainland of Cathay.]

*Tuesday, 27th of November.* Yesterday, at sunset, they arrived near a cape named *Campana* by the Admiral; and, as the sky was clear and the wind light, he did not wish to run in close to the land and anchor, although he had five or six singularly good havens under his lee. The Admiral was attracted on the one hand by the longing and delight he felt to gaze upon the beauty and freshness of those lands, and on the other by a desire to complete the work he had undertaken. For these reasons he remained close hauled, and stood off and on during the night. But, as the currents had set him more than 5 or 6 leagues to the S.E. beyond where he had been at nightfall, passing the land of Campana, he came in sight of a great opening beyond the cape, which seemed to divide one land from another, leaving an island between them. He decided to go back, with the wind S.E., steering to the point where the opening had appeared, where he found that it was only a large bay; and at the end of it, on the S.E. side, there was a point of land on which was a high and square-cut hill, which had looked like an island. A breeze sprang up from the north, and the Admiral continued on a S.E.

course, to explore the coast and discover all that was there. Presently he saw, at the foot of the *Cabo de Campana*, a wonderfully good port, and a large river, and, a quarter of a league on, another river, and a third, and a fourth to a seventh at similar distances, from the furthest one to *Cabo de Campana* being 20 miles S.E. Most of these rivers have wide and deep mouths, with excellent havens for large ships, without sandbanks or sunken rocks. Proceeding onwards from the last of these rivers, on a S.E. course, they came to the largest inhabited place they had yet seen, and a vast concourse of people came down to the beach with loud shouts, all naked, with their darts in their hands. The Admiral desired to have speech with them, so he furled sails and anchored. The boats of the ship and the caravel were sent on shore, with orders to do no harm whatever to the Indians, but to give them presents. The Indians made as if they would resist the landing, but, seeing that the boats of the Spaniards continued to advance without fear, they retired from the beach. Thinking that they would not be terrified if only two or three landed, three Christians were put on shore, who told them not to be afraid, in their own language, for they had been able to learn a little from the natives who were on board. But all ran away, neither great nor small remaining. The Christians went to the houses, which were of straw, and built like the others they had seen, but found no one in any of them. They returned to the ships, and made sail at noon in the direction of a fine cape to the eastward, about 8 leagues distant. Having gone about half a league, the Admiral saw, on the south side of the same bay, a very remarkable harbour, and to the S.E. some wonderfully beautiful country like a valley among the mountains, where much smoke arose, indicating a large population, with signs of much cultivation. So he resolved to stop at this port, and see if he could have any speech or intercourse with the inhabitants. It was so that, if the Admiral had praised the other havens, he must praise this still more for its lands, climate, and people. He tells marvels of the beauty of the country and of the trees, there being palms and pine trees; and also of the great valley, which is not flat, but diversified by hill and dale, the most lovely scene in the world. Many streams flow from it, which fall from the mountains.

As soon as the ship was at anchor the Admiral jumped into the boat, to get soundings in the port, which is the shape of a hammer.

When he was facing the entrance he found the mouth of a river on the south side of sufficient width for a galley to enter it, but so concealed that it is not visible until close to. Entering it for the length of the boat, there was a depth of from 5 to 8 fathoms. In passing up it the freshness and beauty of the trees, the clearness of the water, and the birds, made it all so delightful that he wished never to leave them. He said to the men who were with him that to give a true relation to the Sovereigns of the things they had seen, a thousand tongues would not suffice, nor his hand to write it, for that it was like a scene of enchantment. He desired that many other prudent and credible witnesses might see it, and he was sure that they would be as unable to exaggerate the scene as he was.

The Admiral also says:—‘How great the benefit that is to be derived from this country would be, I cannot say. It is certain that where there are such lands there must be an infinite number of things that would be profitable. But I did not remain long in one port, because I wished to see as much of the country as possible, in order to make a report upon it to your Highnesses; and besides, I do not know the language, and these people neither understand me nor any other in my company; while the Indians I have on board often misunderstand. Moreover, I have not been able to see much of the natives, because they often take to flight. But now, if our Lord pleases, I will see as much as possible, and will proceed by little and little, learning and comprehending; and I will make some of my followers learn the language. For I have perceived that there is only one language up to this point. After they understand the advantages, I shall labour to make all these people Christians. They will become so readily, because they have no religion nor idolatry, and your Highnesses will send orders to build a city and fortress, and to convert the people. I assure your Highnesses that it does not appear to me that there can be a more fertile country nor a better climate under the sun, with abundant supplies of water. This is not like the rivers of Guinea, which are all pestilential. I thank our Lord that, up to this time, there has not been a person of my company who has so much as had a headache, or been in bed from illness, except an old man who has suffered from the stone all his life, and he was well again in two days. I speak of all three vessels. If it will please God that your Highnesses should send learned men out here, they will see the truth of all I have said. I have related already how

good a place *Rio de Mares* would be for a town and fortress, and this is perfectly true; but it bears no comparison with this place, nor with the *Mar de Nuestra Señora*. For here there must be a large population, and very valuable productions, which I hope to discover before I return to Castille. I say that if Christendom will find profit among these people, how much more will Spain, to whom the whole country should be subject. Your Highnesses ought not to consent that any stranger should trade here, or put his foot in the country, except Catholic Christians, for this was the beginning and end of the undertaking; namely, the increase and glory of the Christian religion, and that no one should come to these parts who was not a good Christian.'

All the above are the Admiral's words. He ascended the river for some distance, examined some branches of it, and, returning to the mouth, he found some pleasant groves of trees, like a delightful orchard. Here he came upon a canoe, dug out of one tree, as big as a galley of twelve benches, fastened under a boat-house made of wood, and thatched with palm-leaves, so that it could be neither injured by sun nor by the water. He says that here would be the proper site for a town and fort, by reason of the good port, good water, good land, and abundance of fuel.

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[On 6th December they came up with the beautiful island of Hayti, named by Columbus *Española*, the glory of which he could find no words adequate to describe. The land is more lovely than the finest districts of Castile, and the natives handsome, gentle, and guileless—all strong arguments for their conversion to the Roman faith. At the same time Columbus becomes more and more obsessed with the fever for gold. 'May our Lord in His mercy direct me until I find this gold, I say this mine of gold, because I have many people here who say that they know it.' But it is time to return to Castile with the wonderful news. After organizing a colony to remain behind and bidding farewell to the friendly King Guacanagari, Columbus set sail on board the *Niña* on Friday, 4 January 1493, for home. After encountering a number of storms, he reached the Azores on 18th February, and at last on Monday, 4th March, the port of Lisbon.]

*Wednesday, 6th of March.* As soon as it was known that the Admiral came from the Indies, it was wonderful how many people came from Lisbon to see him and the Indians, giving thanks to our Lord, and saying that the heavenly Majesty had given all this to the Sovereigns of Castille as a reward for their faith and their great desire to serve God.

*Thursday, 7th of March.* To-day an immense number of people came to the caravel, including many knights, and amongst them the agents of the king, and all gave infinite thanks to our Lord for so wide an increase of Christianity granted by our Lord to the Sovereigns of Castille; and they said that they received it because their Highnesses had worked and laboured for the increase of the religion of Christ.

*Friday, 8th of March.* To-day the Admiral received a letter from the King of Portugal, brought by Don Martin de Noroña, asking him to visit him where he was, as the weather was not suitable for the departure of the caravel. He complied, to prevent suspicion, although he did not wish to go, and went to pass the night at Sacanben. The king had given orders to his officers that all that the Admiral, his crew, and the caravel were in need of should be given without payment, and that all the Admiral wanted should be complied with.

*Saturday, 9th of March.* To-day the Admiral left Sacanben, to go where the king was residing, which was at Valparaiso, nine leagues from Lisbon. Owing to the rain, he did not arrive until night. The king caused him to be received very honourably by the principal officers of his household; and the king himself received the Admiral with great favour, making him sit down, and talking very pleasantly. He offered to give orders that everything should be done for the service of the Sovereigns of Castille, and said that the successful termination of the voyage had given him great pleasure. He said further, that he understood that, in the capitulation between the Sovereigns and himself, that conquest belonged to him. The admiral replied that he had not seen the capitulation, nor knew more than that the Sovereigns had ordered him not to go either to Lamina or to any other port of Guinea, and that this had been ordered to be proclaimed in all the ports of Andalusia before he sailed. The king

graciously replied that he held it for certain that there would be no necessity for any arbitrators. The Admiral was assigned as a guest to the Prior of Crato, who was the principal person present, and from whom he received many favours and civilities.

*Sunday, 10th of March.* To-day, after Mass, the king repeated that if the Admiral wanted anything he should have it. He conversed much with the Admiral respecting his voyage, always ordering him to sit down, and treating him with great favour.

*Monday, 11th of March.* To-day the Admiral took leave of the king, who entrusted him with some messages to the Sovereigns, and always treating him with much friendliness. He departed after dinner, Don Martin de Noroña being sent with him, and all the knights set out with him, and went with him some distance, to do him honour. Afterwards he came to a monastery of San Antonio, near a place called Villafranca, where the Queen was residing. The Admiral went to do her reverence and to kiss her hand, because she had sent to say that he was not to go without seeing her. The Duke and the Marquis were with her, and the Admiral was received with much honour. He departed at night, and went to sleep at Llandra.

*Tuesday, 12th of March.* To-day as he was leaving Llandra to return to the caravel, an esquire of the king arrived with an offer that if he desired to go to Castille by land, that he should be supplied with lodgings, and beasts, and all that was necessary. When the Admiral took leave of him, he ordered a mule to be supplied to him, and another for his pilot, who was with him, and he says that the pilot received a present of twenty *espadines*. He said this that the Sovereigns might know all that was done. He arrived on board the caravel that night.

*Wednesday, 13th of March.* To-day, at 8 o'clock, with the flood tide, and the wind N.N.W., the Admiral got under weigh and made sail for Seville.

*Thursday, 14th of March.* Yesterday, after sunset, a southerly course was steered, and before sunrise they were off Cape St. Vincent, which is in Portugal. Afterwards he shaped a course to the east for Saltes, and went on all day with little wind, 'until now that the ship is off Furon.'

*Friday, 15th of March.* Yesterday, after sunset, she went on her course with little wind, and at sunrise she was off Saltes. At noon, with the tide rising, they crossed the bar of Saltes, and reached the port, which they had left on the 3rd of August of the year before. The Admiral says that so ends this journal, unless it becomes necessary to go to Barcelona by sea, having received news that their Highnesses are in that city, to give an account of all his voyage which our Lord had permitted him to make, and saw fit to set forth in him. For, assuredly, he held with a firm and strong knowledge that his high Majesty made all things good, and that all is good except sin. Nor can he value or think of anything being done without His consent. 'I know respecting this voyage,' says the Admiral, 'that he has miraculously shown his will, as may be seen from this journal, setting forth the numerous miracles that have been displayed in the voyage, and in me who was so long at the court of your Highnesses, working in opposition to and against the opinions of so many chief persons of your household, who were all against me, looking upon this enterprise as folly. But I hope, in our Lord, that it will be a great benefit to Christianity, for so it has ever appeared.' These are the final words of the Admiral Don Cristoval Colon respecting his first great voyage to the Indies and their discovery.



IV

VASCO DA GAMA



## *Introductory Note*

VASCO DA GAMA, who came of a family which had rendered distinguished service to Portugal from the thirteenth century onwards, was born in 1469 at the little fishing town of Sines between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. At an early age he served in the war against Castile, and married (probably after his first voyage to India) Catharina de Atayde, by whom he had six sons. From 1499 until he set out on his second voyage in 1503, he lived with his wife and family at Evora in a street near the cathedral. After his return from the second expedition he was not employed by the state for twenty years and remained quietly at home. It has been conjectured that the reason for his neglect was that Dom Manuel, a jealous and suspicious prince, thought that he had sufficiently rewarded Da Gama and feared to give too much importance to a subject.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the navigator complained of the niggardly treatment which he had received, and that when he was next employed, Don Manuel was dead, lends support to this theory. In 1524 Dom Vasco (as he then became) was sent out to Goa as Viceroy. His rule, which seems to have been just and uncorrupt though too severe, lasted only two months. After a brief illness he died on Christmas Eve. 'The sons of the Viceroy', Correa relates, 'Dom Estevan and Dom Paulo, collected together his servants, and fulfilled entirely their father's commands; and both went to the kingdom (of Portugal) in the ship of a merchant, and were received with great honour by the King, who shewed much grief at the death of their father, for the great loss which he sustained by the death of so good a vassal, from whom he (had) hoped to receive such good services.' Da Gama was buried in state in the Franciscan Monastery at Cochim. According to his own wish, his body was taken back to Portugal in the year 1538 and reinterred at Vidigueira.

Da Gama's first and great voyage, though not by any means 'a leap in the dark', made possible the Portuguese commercial empire in the east, the foundations of which were laid by Albuquerque. And although that empire was soon wrested from the nerveless hands of an exhausted Portugal, it had opened up one of the two great outlets for European world expansion.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama to India*, by Gaspar Correa, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley (Hakluyt Society, 1869). Introduction, p. xvii.



# THE FIRST VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA

## CHAPTER I

*HOW the King Dom Joam sent Joam de Covilhan and Gonzallo de Pavia, his equerries, to go and learn about the countries of Prester John of India.*

**D**URING the reign of Dom Joam, the second of that name in the kingdom of Portugal, in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty four, there came to Portugal the King of Benin, a Caffre by nation, and he became Christian, with many of his people, as must be related in his chronicle. From this king, and from his people, the said King Dom Joam collected much information about India and its affairs, for he was very desirous to learn with much certainty that the king of it was Prester John, who was a Christian, and the lord of great riches. Which information produced so great an impression upon the king's heart, that he became possessed with an earnest resolve to send and learn about, and discover India. On which account, carrying out his desire, he at once, in the said year (1484) secretly sent two young men of his equerries to learn of many lands, and wander in many parts, because they knew many languages. To these he gave many injunctions that each one should go wherever God gave him the inclination to go; and that they should labour earnestly to know about India, and in what direction it was, and that they should go there, and learn about Prester John, and of what he was, and bring him information of all; and if he existed they were to endeavour to see him and speak to him, visiting him on the king's part, and giving him an account of the great desire of the king to know him, and to converse and become friends with him, all for the good service of our Lord, being informed that he was a most Christian king; and giving him the best account possible of everything so that it should appear well to him. Of all that they met with they were to obtain much information and take notes, so as to bring him news of all. The king promised them a large recompense for their labour,

<sup>1</sup> Extracted by kind permission from Lord Stanley of Alderley's edition of Da Gama's voyages, taken from Correa's *Lendas da India* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1869).

and for such great services as they would be rendering him; and for as long as they should continue in this service, he would take good care for the support of their wives and children. He directed them to separate and go by different roads; and gave to each of them letters of acknowledgement of the recompense which he promised them if they returned alive, or to their sons and wives if they should die in this service.

And he ordered a plate of brass like a medal to be given to each of them, with an inscription engraved in all languages, which said, 'The King Dom Joan of Portugal, brother of the Christian kings': that they might show them to Prester John, and to whomsoever they thought fit. One of these men was a Canarian by race, named Gonzallo de Pavia, who spoke Castilian. The other was named Pero de Covilhan, being a native of the village of Covilhan. These men being thus instructed, the king gave to each one some precious stones to sell for their expenses, and despatched them. They both in company took the road to Venice; and in the pilgrim galleys and strange dresses passed to Turkey, and went to Alexandria in the guise of merchants, in whose company they put themselves, serving them for wages, and with them they passed in the caravan to Mecca; always inquiring and obtaining information of what concerned them, and there they took counsel together and separated. And Gonzallo de Pavia undertook his journey to India, and went to Calicut, and ran along all the coast as far as Cambay in company with a Jewish merchant, with whom he formed such a friendship that he informed him of all his business; and with this Jew he turned back, going by Ormuz, where he died; for which the Jew felt great grief, and promised him that he would endeavour to go to Portugal to give an account to the king of the things which he wished to know, for which the king would give him a great reward. For certifying the truth he was to take to him the metal plate which he carried with him. This the Jew carried out; but before that, much time elapsed before he came to Portugal, the ships having already departed which went to discover India.

Peter of Covilhan, from Mecca took the road to Egypt along the sea-shore, passing by many towns, and went as far as the country of the Prester, and went to where he was and spoke to him, and gave him an account of his journey, and of having come to seek for him; at which, the Prester was greatly pleased, and read the letters on the

metal plate, which were in Chaldee, his own language, to which he gave much credit, because he and his ancestors had their own information by hearsay respecting the great kings there were in Christendom. This was related to him by some of his people whom, at times, he sent to visit Jerusalem and the Pope of Rome, on which account they always had a great desire to hear about them and to communicate with them; for this reason they paid great honours to Peter of Covilhan, and gave him lands and lordships as Count, with many vassals and rents. These Peter of Covilhan did not wish to accept, as he desired to return with his message to the king. But the Prester said that he should stay in his country not to die on the road, and not to lose so good a commencement as he had made; because he wished to send a servant of his to Rome, who should go from Rome to Portugal; and during this time his other companion would arrive, and if he did not come, then he should do as seemed fit to him. Meanwhile, he wished him to get sons and a lineage, who would remain to him as a remembrance until he saw that which he so greatly desired. Peter of Covilhan struggled much against this, but the Prester did not choose otherwise; and so he remained until his time came, as I will relate further on in its place.

### CHAPTER III

*How, by the death of the King Dom Joam, the King Dom Manoel, who succeeded to the kingdom, occupied himself with the discovery of India.*

AT this time also an illness overtook the king, which gave him care and occupation, so that he could no longer look after the building of the three ships, until the year 1495, when he died of his illness in Alvor; and there succeeded him as king the King Dom Manoel. He provided for the affairs of the kingdom as he thought fitting; and after all had been set in order, being inspired by Our Lord, he took the resolution to learn and inform himself about the affairs of India, for he knew that the king had had so great a desire in this matter that he had sent his two equerries, from whom there had not been any answer. He (Dom Joam) only had information by means of letters which he wrote respecting this to Venice, to a principal merchant, a great friend of his, who negotiated and executed his commissions. From him he had received answers, in which he gave him

a long account of India, and of its great riches and trade which issued from it by many seas and lands, by which way there came rich merchandise and aromatic spices to Alexandria, from which the Turk drew great profits; and from that place the merchandise came by the trading of the merchants who brought it to Venice. This was the greatest trade which there was in Venice, because it went thence to all parts, so that sometimes the galleys of Venice came to Spain and went to sell at Lisbon, as he had seen, but in what part India lay he was unable to tell him. This, however, was an affair for a great prince to undertake and endeavour to discover and conquer it, and adventure in this his whole kingdom and power; for if it pleased Our Lord to shew it to him and make him lord of it, he would be exalted in riches and grandeur over all the Christian princes, and he would be of glorious memory for the exaltation of our holy faith. By these letters the (late) king was incited to his great desire; and the reading of them by the King Dom Manoel, who found them in a chest of the king's papers, caused him to feel a great longing to order the making of the discovery of India; and having directed his intellect to this care, as a very prudent man, and one of good counsel, he chose first to obtain information of the facts, and of what he could do, before commencing so great an enterprise. Not being willing to risk in vain his expenditure and the lives of his vassals, he determined first to possess true information, and would not commence an affair which he was not to bring to a conclusion; especially so great a one as this, and at the beginning of his reign. Because it was fitting in this matter, and also because he was some little inclined to astronomical matters, he sent to Beja to summon a Jew with whom he was very well acquainted, who was a great astrologer, named Çacoto, with whom he spoke in great secret, and charged him to ascertain whether he should advise him to engage himself in the discovery of India, and if it was a matter which might come to pass, so that the labour which would be necessary for this should not be lost in vain; for if it were a possible thing, he had the will and readiness to spend upon it all that was possible, but he would do nothing in it without his counsel, and for that he had summoned him, and for the same strongly recommended him to look and see with attention what he could ascertain about this from his good science, and for this he should take whatever time he chose for giving his reply. The Jew took charge of the commission and returned to Beja; and on his

setting about it, the Lord was pleased to shew him his will. Having well ascertained all, he returned to the king with much satisfaction, and said to him, 'Sire, with the great care which I have taken in the matter which your highness so much enjoined upon me, and with the good pleasure of Our Lord, that which I have found out and learned is that the province of India is very far off from this our region, far removed by wide seas and lands, all inhabited by dark people, in which there are great riches and merchandise, which go forth to many parts of the world, and there is much risk before they can come to this our region. That which I have looked at, and by the will of Our Lord have attained to is, that your highness will discover it, and will subjugate a large part of India in a very short time, because, Sire, your planet is great, under the sphere, the device of your royal person, in which are contained the heavens and the earth; for God will be pleased to bring all this into your power; which power will never end, for the king who fears God, even though he spent his whole kingdom in this; because God kept this enterprise reserved for your Highness. And I find that two natural brothers of yours will discover India, but who they may be I cannot ascertain. But since it is thus ordained of God, He will shew all the truth of what I have said to your Highness; upon which I stake my head in pledge, under the pleasure of Our Lord, in whose power everything is.' All which having been heard by the king, he gave great thanks to the Jew for such good news as he had given him, and he enjoined him strictly to maintain great secrecy about this for the great importance of it to his State.

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## CHAPTER V

*How the King gave the captaincy of three ships to Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of his house, and charged him to go and discover India.*

WHILST these things were being thus prepared, the king was full of care both day and night, as to whom he should entrust this so great enterprise; he was always praying the Lord, that if this affair was to be for His holy service He would be pleased to show him the men whom it would please Him to send upon this voyage, with respect to which the king was occupied in constant thought. The grandees of the kingdom, seeing the preparations which the king was making

for this fleet which he was going to send for the discovery, spoke to him about a few men who appeared to be fitting for this, but the king answered them, that he had them already decided upon. Many days passed thus, and one day the king sitting in his hall of business at a table with his officers, giving orders, by chance the king raised his eyes, and Vasco da Gama happened to cross through the hall: he was a gentleman of the household, and of noble lineage, son of Estevan da Gama, who had been comptroller of the household of the King Dom Alfonso, for in that time they took honour more from nobility of blood than from titles of Dom, which were not then customary amongst those who were noble by direct lineage. This Vasco da Gama was a discreet man, of good understanding, and of great courage for any good deed. The king setting eyes upon him, his heart was transported, and he called him, and he kneeled before the king, who said to him: 'I should rejoice if you would undertake a service which I require of you in which you must labour much.' He kissed his hand saying: 'Sire, I am a servant for any labour that may be, since my service is required, which I will perform so long as my life lasts.' At which the king rose up, and went to sit at a table which was set out in the hall for dinner, and whilst there he said to Vasco da Gama that it was his will that he should go in those ships where he would send him, that it was an affair upon which he was much bent, and on that account that he should make ready. To this, Vasco da Gama replied that his soul was in readiness, and that there was nothing to detain him from embarking at once.

When the king had finished dining he withdrew to his chamber, and asked of Vasco da Gama if he had any brother. He answered that he had three, one a lad, another who was studying to be a priest, and another older, and that all were men very ready to serve in anything that was committed to them. The king said to him: 'Call him to go with you in one of the two ships, and do you choose the one you like best, in which you shall carry my standard; for you shall be the captain-major of the others.' Vasco da Gama kissed his hand, and said: 'Sire, it would not be in reason that I should carry the standard, because my brother is older than I, but he shall carry it, and I will go under his command, which is right, and your Highness should have it so for your service.' At which answer the king shewed his pleasure, and said: 'That he greatly rejoiced at the good

knowledge which he had of obedience, and that for this God would grant him a great reward, and that he expected good service from one who had such good knowledge of what obedience was, which is a great virtue: and in that matter that he should dispose of it as he pleased'; but his heart found rest in him, and on that account committed everything to him in the carrying out of this voyage; 'for my heart tells me that my desire will be accomplished by you: therefore dispose yourself as you think fit; for to you alone, I give the command and the whole charge; and do you look out for a captain for the other ship, a man according to your will and pleasure.' For which Vasco da Gama kissed the king's hand, and said to him: 'Sire, my elder brother, whom I mentioned to your Highness, is named Paulo da Gama, and he is now absent on account of a wound which was given to the judge of Setubal, for which he is blamed: and without a pardon from your Highness he will not be able to come.' The king said to him: 'For love of you I pardon him my justice, for the services which I expect from you and him, he satisfying the parties now that he has his pardon; and let him come at once without making any delay; and meanwhile do you attend to the preparations and equipment of the ships, and take the sailors who best please you, and so of all other things, because, if it please God, you will discover India: and I pray our Lord, that He may so permit it for His holy service, and I recommend you to Him, and your labours shall be well rewarded by me.' For which Vasco da Gama kissed his hand.

## CHAPTER VII

*How the King committed the Royal Standard to Vasco da Gama in the Cathedral of Lisbon, and dispatched him, and he departed to the discovery of India.*

THE ships being equipped and ready, as I have said, one Sunday the king went with the Queen Dona Maria to hear Mass, which was said pontifically by the Bishop Calçadilha, who also made a discourse in praise of the voyage, and holy design of the king in regard to the new discovery which he was commanding to be made; and he called upon the people to pray to the Lord that the voyage might be for His holy service, and for the exalting of His holy faith, and for the increase of the good and honour of the kingdom of Portugal. When

the Mass was ended, at which the good brothers and their associates were present, richly dressed, and to whom the king shewed great honour and favour, as they stood close to the curtain, where also were the principal lords of the realm and gentlemen of the court, the king came out from the curtain, and spoke to the captains who placed themselves on their knees before him, and they spoke to him, saying: 'Sire, the honour we are receiving from your Highness is so great, that with a hundred bodies and lives which we might expend in your service we never could repay the least part of it, since greater honours were never shown by a sovereign to his vassals, than you have done us, as the great prince, king, and lord that you are, with such magnanimity and honour that, if at this very moment we should die, our lineage would remain in the highest degree of honour which is possible, only because your Highness has chosen and sent us for this work, whilst you have so many and such noble vassals to whom to commit it: for which we are already recompensed before rendering this service, and until we end our lives in performing it. For this we beg of the mercy of the Lord, that He direct us, and that we may perform such works that He, the Lord, and your Highness also, may be served in some measure in this so great favour that has been shewn us, as He knows that such is our desire; and should we not be deserving to serve Him in this voyage, and so holy undertaking, may the Lord be pleased that we may pay with our lives for our shortcomings in the work. We promise your Highness that our lives will be the matters of least moment that we shall adventure in this so great favour that has been shewn us, and that we will not return before your Highness with our lives in our bodies, without bringing some certain information of that which your Highness desires.' And they all again kissed the hands of the king and of the queen: upon which the king came forth from the cathedral and went to his palace which then was in the residence of the alcasbah in the castle. There went before him the captains, and before them the standard which was carried by their ensign in whom they trusted, and on arriving at the palace the king dismissed them, and they again kissed his and the queen's hand. Vasco da Gama on a horse, with all the men of the fleet on foot, richly dressed in liveries, and accompanied by all the gentlemen of the court, went down to the wharf on the bank, and embarked in their boats, and the standard went in that of Paulo da Gama. Then, taking leave of the gentlemen, they went to

the ships, and on their arrival they fired all their artillery, and the ships were dressed out gaily with standards and flags, and many ornaments, and the royal standard was at once placed at the top of the mast of Paulo da Gama; for so Vasco da Gama commanded, and discharging all their artillery, they loosened the sails, and went beating to windward on the river of Lisbon, tacking until they came to anchor at Belem, where they remained three days waiting for a wind to go out. There they made a muster of the crews, and the king was there all the time in the monastery, where all confessed and communicated. The king commanded that they should write down in a book all the men of each ship by name, with the names of their fathers, mothers, and the wives of the married men, and the places of which they were native; and the king ordered that this book should be preserved in the House of the Mines, in order that the payments which were due should be made upon their return, because the king ordered that a hundred cruzados should be paid to each of the married men for them to leave it to their wives, and forty cruzados to each of the single men, for them to fit themselves out with certain things; for, as to provisions, they had not got to lay them in, for the ships were full of them: and to the two brothers a gratification of two thousand cruzados to each of them, and a thousand to Nicolas Coelho.

When it was the day of our Lady of March (the 25th), all heard Mass; then they embarked, and loosed the sails, and went forth from the river, the king coming out to accompany them in his boat, and addressing them all with blessings and good wishes, he took leave of them, his boat lying on its oars until they disappeared, as it is shown in the painting of this city of Lisbon. Vasco da Gama went in the ship *San Rafael*, and Paulo da Gama in the *San Gabriel*, and Nicolas Coelho in the other ship *San Miguel*: in each ship there were as many as eighty men, officers and seamen and the others of his family, servants and relations, all filled with the desire to undertake the labour that was fitting for each, and with great trust in the favours which they hoped for from the king on their return to Portugal.

Paulo da Gama, as he went out of the Lisbon river, hauled down the royal standard from the masthead, and at the great supplications of his brother, who gave him good reasons why it was fitting that he should carry it, he again hoisted it.

## CHAPTER VIII

*Of the navigation which the ships performed, and of the storms which they underwent, until they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which they did not see.*

THE two companions standing out to sea, as I have said, made their way towards Cape Verde, and for that purpose they stood well out to sea to make the coast, which they knew they would find, as it advanced much to seawards, as they learned from the sailors who had been in the caravels of Janinfante; and they ran as far as they could to sea in the direction of the wind, to double the land without difficulty; and thus they navigated until they made the coast, and having reconnoitred it, they tacked and stood out to sea, hauling on the bowline as much as they could, and so they ran for many days. And as it seemed to them that now they could double the land, they again tacked towards the coast, also on the bowline, against the wind, until they again saw the coast, much further on than where the caravels had reached, which the masters knew from the soundings which they had got written down from the voyage of Janinfante, and the days which they found to have less sun by the clocks. Having well ascertained this, they stood out again to sea, thus forcing the ships to windward, they went so far out to sea towards the south, that there was almost not six hours of sunlight in the day; and the wind was very powerful, so that the sea was very fearful to see, without ever being smooth either by day or night, but they always met with storms, so that the crews suffered much hardship. And after a month that they had run on this tack, they stood in to shore and went as long as they could, all praying to the Lord that they might have doubled beyond the land; but when they again saw it, they were very sad, though they found themselves much advanced by the signs of the soundings which the pilots took, and they saw land of another shape which they had not before seen. Seeing that the coast ran out to sea, the masters and pilots were in great confusion, and doubtful of standing out again to sea, saying that that land went across the sea, and had no end to it. This being heard of by Vasco da Gama, (according as it was presumed, to the information he had from the Jew Çacuto), he told the pilots that they should not imagine such a thing, and that without doubt they would find the end of that land,

and beyond it much sea and lands to run by, and he said to them: 'I assure you that the Cape is very near, and with another tack standing out to sea, when you return, you will find the Cape doubled.' This Vasco da Gama said to encourage them, because he saw that they were much disheartened, and with the inclination to wish to put back to Portugal. So he ordered them to put the ships about to sea, which they did much against their will; for which reason Vasco da Gama determined to stand on this tack so long as to be able to double the end of the land; and besought all not to take account of their labours, since for that purpose they had ventured upon them; and that they should put their trust in the Lord that they would double the Cape.

Thus he gave them great encouragement, without ever sleeping or taking repose, but always taking part with them in hardship, coming up at the boatswain's pipe as they all did. So they went on standing out to sea till they found it all broken up with the storm, with enormous waves, and darkness. As the days were very short, it always seemed night; the masts and shrouds were stayed, because with the fury of the sea the ships seemed every moment to be going to pieces. The crews grew sick with fear and hardship, because also they could not prepare their food, and all clamoured for putting back to Portugal, and that they did not choose to die like stupid people who sought death with their own hands; thus they made clamour and lamentation, of which there was much more in the other ships. But the captains excused themselves, saying that they would do nothing except what Vasco da Gama did; and he and his companions underwent great labour.

As he was a very choleric man, at times with angry words he made them be silent, although he well saw how much reason they had at every moment to despair of their lives: and they had been going for about two months on that tack, and the masters and the pilots cried out to him to take another tack; but the captain-major did not choose, though the ships were now letting in much water, by which their labours were doubled, because the days were short and the nights long, which caused them increased fear of death; and at this time they met with such cold rains that the men could not move. All cried out to God for mercy upon their souls, for now they no longer took heed of their lives. It now seemed to Vasco da Gama that the time was come for making another tack, and he comported

himself very angrily, swearing that if they did not double the Cape, he would stand out to sea again as many times until the Cape was doubled, or there should happen whatever should please God. For which reason, from fear of this, the masters took much more trouble to advance as much as they could : and they took more heart on nearing the land, and escaping from the tempest of the sea : and all called upon God for mercy, and to give them guidance, when they saw themselves out of such great dangers. Thus approaching the land, they found their labour less, and the seas calmer, so they went on running for a long time, steering so as to make the land and to ease the ships, which they were better able to do at night when the captain slept, which the other ships did also, as they followed the lantern which Vasco da Gama carried : at night the ships showed lights to one another so as not to part company. Seeing how much they had run, and did not find the land, they sailed larger so as to make it ; and as they did not find it, and the sea and wind were moderate, they knew that they had doubled the Cape ; on which great joy fell upon them, and they gave great praise to the Lord on seeing themselves delivered from death. The pilots continued to sail more free, spreading all the sails ; and running in this manner, one morning they sighted some mountain peaks which seemed to touch the clouds ; at which their pleasure was so great that all wept with joy, and all devoutly on their knees said the *Salve*. After running all day till night, they were not able to reach it, and discovered great mountain ridges, so as it was night they ran along the coast which lay from east to west ; and they took in all the sails only running under the large sails, for these were the orders of the captain-major. The next day at dawn they again set all the sails and ran to the land, so that at mid-day they saw a beach which was all rocky, and running along it, they saw deep creeks, and such large bays, that they could not see the land at the end of them ; they also found the mouths of great rivers, from which water came forth to the sea with a powerful current ; here also, near the land, they found many fish which they killed with fish-spears. The watch-men in the tops were always on the look out to see if there were shoals ahead. The crews grew sick with fever from the fish which they ate, on which account they ate no more. The pilots, on heaving the lead, found no bottom : so they ran on for three days, and at night they kept away from the land, and shortened sail. Sailing in this manner they fell in with the mouth of

a large river, and the captain-major ordered a boat to be lowered, and the pilot to sound the entrance of the river; and he said that it was superfluous, because if there was a shoal it would burst through. Then they took in the sails, excepting the great one, with which they entered the river, which was very large: and they went up it, the boats going before and sounding, and approaching land, where they found twelve fathoms, they anchored. There they found very good fish, for the river was of fresh water; but in the whole of the river they found no beach, for there was nothing but rocks and crags. Then Vasco da Gama went to see his brother, and so did Nicolas Coelho, and they all dined with great satisfaction, talking of the hardships they had gone through.

When they had finished dining, Vasco da Gama ordered Nicolas Coelho to go in his boat up the river to see if he found any village. He went up more than five leagues, without finding anything besides many streams which came from between the mountains to pour into the river; there were no woods in the country, nothing but stones on both sides of the river: upon which he returned to the captain-major. Then the following day, before the morning, Vasco da Gama again ordered Nicolas Coelho to go in a boat with sails and oars, and with provisions to eat, and told him to go as far as the head of the river, to see if he could find anyone to speak to, to learn what country they were in. He went up the river a distance of more than twenty leagues, and returned without having found anything. Then they decided on going out again, and they took in water and wood of the dry trees, which it seems the river brings down when it comes from the mountain. On that account the captain-major wished himself in person to discover the river up to its head, to see whence could come those trees which they found there dry, but the masters said this would be a labour without profit, and that they ought to go out of the river and make for the country which they wished to seek, and they would find it. This seemed good to the captain-major, and they came out of the river, with much labour, as the wind was contrary, and entered the mouth of the river. The strong current of the river, which went out to sea, alone assisted them, and with it they went outside without sails, only towing with the boats which guided them.

## CHAPTER IX

*How the ships saw land within the Cape, and ran along it, and of what they found, and the winter overtook them at sea, where they weathered great storms, and Vasco da Gama put the pilots in irons.*

WHEN the ships returned to sea they ran along the coast with great precaution, and a good look-out not to run upon any shoals, and they entered other great rivers and bays; and they explored everywhere and searched without ever being able to meet with people, nor boats in the sea, for all the country was uninhabited: and in entering and leaving the rivers they endured much fatigue, and were much vexed at not being able to learn in what country they were. With these detentions and delays they wasted much time, and spent all the summer of that country, so they had to run along the coast because the winds were favourable for going ahead; for they were westerly. And because they found everything desolate, without people by land or sea, they agreed unanimously not to enter any more rivers, but to run ahead; and thus they did; for by day they ran under full sail, drawing as near to the land as possible to see if they could make out any village or beach, which as yet they had not seen; and by night they stood away to sea, and ran under shortened sail. Navigating in this manner, the wind began to moderate, and fell calm altogether, which happened in November, when they had to struggle with another wind, with which they stood out to sea, fearing that some contrary storm might arise; then, taking in all sail, they lay waiting for the springing up of another wind, so they went increasing their distance from the land till they lost sight of it; for the wind increased continually, and the sea rose greatly, for then the winter of that country was setting in. The masters, seeing that the weather was freshening, took counsel as to returning to land and putting into some river until meeting with a change of weather. This they did, and putting about to the land, the wind increased so much that they were afraid of not finding a river in which to shelter, and of being lost. On which account they again stood out to sea, and made ready the ships to meet the storm which they saw rising every moment, so that the water should not come in, with ropes made fast to the masts, and with the shrouds passed over the yards so that the masts should remain more secure; and they took away all the pannels from the

tops, and the sails, so as not to hold the wind; the small sails and the lower sails all struck, and with the foresails only they prepared to weather the storm. Seeing the weather in this state, the pilot and master told the captain-major that they had great fear on account of the weather because it was becoming a tempest, and the ships were weak, and that they thought they ought to put in to land and run along the coast and return to seek the great river into which they had first entered, because the wind was blowing that way, and they could enter it for all that there was a storm. But when the captain-major heard of turning backwards, he answered them that they 'should not speak such words, because as he was going out of the bar of Lisbon, he had promised to God in his heart not to turn back a single span's breadth of the way which he had made, that on that account they should not speak in that wise, as he would throw into the sea whomsoever spoke such things. At which the crew, in despair, abandoned themselves to the chances of the sea which was broken up with the increase of the tempest and rising of the gale, which many times chopped round, and blew from all parts, and at times fell; so that the ships were in great peril from their great labouring in the waves, which ran very high. Then the storm would again break with such fury that the seas rose towards the sky, and fell back in heavy showers which flooded the ships. The storm raging thus violently, the danger was doubled; for suddenly the wind died out, so that the ships lay dead between the waves, lurching so heavily that they took in water on both sides; and the men made themselves fast not to fall from one side to the other; and everything in the ships was breaking up, so that all cried to God for mercy. Before long the sea came in with more violence, which increased their misfortune, with the great difficulty of working the pumps; for they were taking in much water, which entered both above and below; so they had no repose for either soul or body, and the crews began to sicken and die of their great hardships. At this the pilots and masters and all the people poured out cries and lamentations to the captains, urgently requiring them to put back and seek an escape from death, which there they were certain of meeting with by their own will if they did not put about. To which the captains gave no other reply than that they would do no such thing unless the captain-major did it. The captain-major, seeing the clamours of his crew, answered them with brave words, saying that

he had already told them that backwards he would not go, even though he saw a hundred deaths before his eyes: thus he had vowed to God; and let them look to it that it was not reasonable that they should lose all the labours which they had gone through up to this time, that the Lord who had delivered them until now, would have mercy upon them; they should remember that they had already doubled the Cape of Storms and were in the region which they had come to seek, to discover India, on accomplishing which and returning to Portugal, they would gain such great honour and recompenses from the King of Portugal for their children; and they should put their trust in God, who is merciful, and who, from one hour to another, would come with His mercy, and give them fair weather, and that they should not talk like people who distrusted the mercy of God. But although the captain-major always spoke to them these and other words of great encouragement, they did not cease from their loud clamour and protestations that he would give an account to God of their deaths of which he would be the cause, and of the leaving desolate of their wives and children; all this accompanied by weeping and cries, and calls to God for mercy. Whilst they went on this way with their souls in their mouths, the sea began to go down a little, and the wind also, so that the ships could approach to speak one another, and all clamoured with loud cries that they should put about to seek some place where they could refit the ships, as they could not keep them afloat with the pumps. The crews of the other ships spoke with more audacity, saying that the captain was but one man, and they were many; and they feared death while the captains did not fear it, nor took any account of losing their lives. The captain-major chose that the two other ships should know his design, and he said and swore by the life of the king his sovereign that from the spot where he then was he had not to turn back one span's breadth, even though the ships were laden with gold, unless he got information of that which they had come to seek, and that even if he had near there a very good port he would go not ashore, lest some of them should retire to a certain death on shore, allowing themselves to remain there, rather than go on with the ships trusting to the mercy of God, in which they had such small reliance that they made such exclamations from the weakness of their hearts, as if they were not Portuguese: on which account he would undeceive them all, for to Portugal they would not return unless they brought word to the

king of that which he had so strongly commended to them, and that he took the same account of death as did any one of them.

While they were at this point a sudden wind arose, with so great a concussion of thunder and darkness, and a stronger blast than they had yet experienced, and the sea rose so much that the ships could not see one another, except when they were upheaved by the seas, when they seemed to be amongst the clouds; and they hung out lights so as not to part company, for the anxiety and fear which the captain-major felt was the losing one of the ships from his company, so that the seamen would put back to Portugal by force, as indeed they had very much such a desire in their hearts. But the captains took very great care of this, because Vasco da Gama, before going out of Lisbon, when conversing alone with the Jew Zacuto in the monastery, had received from him much information as to what he should do during his voyage, and especially recommendations of great watchfulness never to let the ships part company, because if they separated it would be the certain destruction of all of them. Vasco da Gama took great care of this, personally, and by means of his servants and relations in whom he trusted: and this they attended to with much greater solicitude after they had heard the sailors say that they were many, and the captains only a few single men; and in fact they had in their minds such an intention of rising up against the captains, and by force putting back to Portugal, and they thought that if it became necessary to arrest them for this and bring them before the king, he would have mercy upon them, and should they not find mercy, they preferred rather to die there where their wives and children and fathers were, and in their native country, and not in the sea to be eat by the fishes. With such thoughts they all spoke to one another secretly, determining to carry it out, and trusting that the king would not hang them all for the good reasons which they would all give him; or else to secure their lives they would go to Castile until they were pardoned: and this was the greatest insolence they were guilty of; and so they decided upon executing their plan. In taking this decision they did not perceive the danger of death, into which they were going more than ever. In the ship of Nicolas Coelho there was a sailor who had a brother who lived with Nicolas Coelho, and was foster brother of a son of his; and the sailor brother told this boy of what they had all determined to do. This boy being very discreet, said to his brother that they should all preserve great

secrecy, so as not to be found out, for it was a case of treason, and he warned his brother not to tell anyone that he had mentioned such a thing to him. The boy, on account of the affection which he had for his master Nicolas Coelho, discovered the matter to him in secret, and he at once gave the boy a serious warning to be very discreet in this matter, that they should not perceive that he had told them anything of the kind. With the firm determination which Nicolas Coelho at once formed to die sooner than allow himself to be seized upon, he became very vigilant both by day and night, and warned the boy to try to learn with much dissimulation all that they wanted to do, and by what means. The boy told him that they would not do it unless they could first concert with the other ships, so that all should mutiny: at that Nicolas Coelho remained more at ease, but was always very much on the guard for himself. As the storm did not abate, but rather seemed to increase, and as the cries and clamour of the people were very great, beseeching him to put back, Nicolas Coelho dissembled with them saying: 'Brothers, let us strive to save ourselves from this storm, for I promise you that as soon as I can get speech with the captain-major, I will require him to put back, and you will see how I will require it of him.' With this they remained satisfied. Some days having passed thus with heavy storms, the Lord was pleased to assuage the tempest a little and the sea grew calm, so that the ships could speak one another: and Nicolas Coelho coming up to speak, shouted to the captain-major that: 'It would be well to put about, since every moment they had death before their eyes, and if they who were captains did not choose to do so, and so many men who went in their company were so piteously begging with tears and cries to put back the ships, and they did not choose to do so, it would be well if they should kill or arrest us, and then they would put back or go where it was convenient to save their lives; which we also ought to do, and if we do not do it, let each one look out for himself, for thus I do for my part, and for my conscience sake, for I would not have to give any account of it to the Lord.' Paulo da Gama, who also had come up within speaking distance, heard all this. When they had heard these words of Nicolas Coelho, who, on ending his speech, at once begun to move away, the captain-major answered him that he would hold a consultation with the pilot and his crew, and that whatever he determined to do, he would make a signal to him of his resolution. During this time they lay hove to in the

smooth water, because the wind never changed from its former point. Vasco da Gama, as he was very quick-witted, at once understood what Nicolas Coelho's words meant, and called together all the crew, and said to them that he was not so valiant as not to have the fear of death like themselves, neither was he so cruel as not to feel grieved at heart at seeing their tears and lamentations, but that he did not wish to have to give account to God for their lives, and for that reason he begged them to labour for their safety, because if the bad weather came again he had determined to put back, but to disculpate himself with the king, it was incumbent upon him to draw up a document of the reasons for putting back, with their signatures. At this all raised their hands to heaven, saying that its mercy was already descending upon them, since it was softening the heart of the captain-major and inclining him to put back, and they said that all would sign the great service which he would render to God and to the king by putting back. Then the captain-major said that there was no need of the signatures of all, but only of those who best understood the business of the sea. Then the pilot and master named them, and they were three seamen. Upon this the captain-major retired to his cabin, and told his servants to stand at the door of the cabin, and put inside the clerk to draw up the document, and ordered the three seamen to enter: and dissembling, he made enquiries as to returning to port, and all was written down and they signed it. He then ordered them to go down below to another cabin which he had beneath his own for a store-cabin, and he ordered the clerk to go down also with them, and he summoned the master and pilot and ordered them below also, telling them to go and sign, as the clerk was there. Then he called up the seamen one by one, and ordered them to be put in irons by his servants in his cabin, and heavy irons for the master and pilot. All being well ironed and bound, the captain-major turned them out, and called all the men, ordering the master and the pilot at once to give up to him all the articles which they had belonging to the art of navigation or, if not, that he would at once execute them: of which being greatly afraid, they gave everything up to him. Then Vasco da Gama, holding them all in his hand, flung them into the sea, and said—'See here, men, that you have neither master nor pilot, nor any one to show you the way from henceforward, because these men whom I have arrested will return to Portugal below the deck, if they do not die

before that' (for he was aware that they had agreed amongst one another to rise up and return by force to Portugal, and on that account had cast everything into the sea), 'and I do not require master nor pilot, nor any man who knows the art of navigation, because God alone is the master and pilot who had to guide and deliver them by His mercy if they deserved it, and if not, let His will be done. To Him you must commend yourselves and beg mercy. Henceforward let no one speak to me of putting back, for know from me of a certainty, that if I do not find information of what I have come to seek, that to Portugal I do not return.' Seeing and hearing these things, the crew became much more terrified, and with much greater fear of death, which they held as certain, not having either pilot or master, nor any one who knew how to navigate a ship. Then the prisoners and all the crew on their knees begged him for mercy with loud cries; the prisoners saying that they, being ignorant men and of faint heart, had come to an understanding to put the ship about and return to the king and offer themselves for death, if he chose to give it them, and they would have taken him prisoner, that the king might see he was not to blame for putting back; but this was not to have been done, except with the will of all the people of the other ships; but since God had discovered this to him before they had carried it out, let him show them clemency; for well they saw that they deserved death from him, which was more than the chains which they bore. All the crew frequently called out to him for clemency, and not to put the prisoners below the decks, where they would soon die. Then the captain-major, showing that he only did it at their entreaty, and not for any need which he had of them, ordered them to remain in their cabins in the forecastle still in irons, and forbade their giving any directions for the navigation of the ship, except only for the trimming of the sails and the work of the ship. Vasco da Gama then ran alongside of the other ships and spoke them, saying that he had put his pilot and master in irons, in which he would bring them back to the kingdom, if God pleased that they should return there; and that they should not imagine that he had any need of their knowledge, he had flung into the sea all the implements of their art of navigation, because he placed his hopes in God alone, who would direct them and deliver them from the perils amongst which they were going: and on that account, since he had now made his men secure, let them secure themselves as they

pleased: and without waiting for an answer he sheered off. Nicolas Coelho felt great joy in his heart on hearing from the captain-major that he had got his pilot and master thus secure from rising against him, since he had put them in irons; and with much dissimulation he spoke to his master and pilot and seamen, saying that he was much grieved at the captain-major's way of treating his ship's officers, whom he stood so much in need of in the labours they were undergoing, but what he had done was because of his being of so strong and thorough a temperament, as they all knew, and he had not chosen to wait for them to make entreaty for the liberty of the prisoners, but that whenever the ships again spoke one another he would do it. This all the crew begged him to do, with loud cries of mercy, since they would follow the flagship wherever it went. This Nicolas Coelho promised them, so they remained contented. Paulo da Gama had other conversations with the officers of his ship, with much urbanity, for he was a man of gentle disposition; he also promised them that he would entreat his brother on behalf of the prisoners, and bade all pray God for the saving of their lives, and that all would end well, so that all remained consoled.

[While sailing along the coast for Mosambique they came upon a Moor (the first representative of that Moslem trade in the Eastern Seas with which they were about to compete), whom they took on board and treated with distinction. On arriving at Mosambique in March 1498, they were courteously received by the 'Sheikh' and the Moorish community, 'who since a long time have established their commerce throughout all the countries of India, so that they have remained as natives.' But treachery was in the air and Da Gama set sail again, much irritated as being unable to take vengeance upon the Sheikh. At Mombasa, which was reached in April, they were accorded but an indifferent reception; for the Sheikh of Mosambique had forewarned the king that the new-comers were really robbers and spies. At Melinde, however, the benign old king received them with many marks of respect and friendship, and ceremonious visits were exchanged. By way of sealing the alliance, Da Gama presented him with a splendid sword in a gold case, a lance, and a buckler, to which the king responded by swearing 'for ever to comply with true peace and friendship with the king of Portugal, my new brother.' After staying there for nearly three months, the Portuguese set out

on the last stage of their outward journey, and reached Calicut on the Indian coast (according to Correa) on 26 August 1498.]

## CHAPTER XVII

*How Vasco da Gama went on shore and had an interview with the King of Calecut, and spoke to him about a covenant of peace and trade: and of what happened.*

THE King, on receiving the message of the captain-major to the effect that he could do nothing without first establishing peace, and giving an explanation of this, and that after peace was established then he would establish trade, spoke of this matter to his confidantes and the overseer of the treasury and the Gozil; for the King said he desired to know what the Portuguese king wanted. The overseer of the treasury and the Gozil, who had already received the presents of the Moors, said to the king that it was very requisite first to learn the truth about our people whether they came for a good purpose or not; and that meantime he should send to tell them to send a man from whom he could get information as to what the Portuguese wanted, and if it was a thing agreeable to his will, then he would hear the embassy of their king. This advice seemed good to the king; and at the end of three days after that he sent to call the broker, who was always on shore with Joan Nũz to purchase provisions. The broker however, also bought porcelain, benzoin, and bags of musk, these in small quantities; also pepper which they sold him by measure, and bundles of cinnamon and ginger, as if for himself, and at night they carried it away, when they went to the ship. When these came before the king he told them to go to the ship and take a message to the captain, and he sent with them a Nair, a relation of the Gozil, and told them to say that a man should be sent who could give explanations as to what he might ask him, and that they should send word through him how they wished the peace to be made. The captain-major, seeing that a boat was coming with a message, ordered the things of the present, which have been already mentioned, to be put on handkerchiefs, as if they were cleaning and sunning them, also many strings of coral beads, which was their principal merchandise. When the Nair came on board, they gave him a good reception, and when he had given the king's message they at once called Nicolas Coelho, who came from the other ship,

and the captain-major sent him on shore well-dressed and with twelve men, and told him what the king wished to know from him, and that when he asked about the peace, he was to tell him that he, the king, was to give his peace and security like a king, such as he was, to the Portuguese that they might go on shore buying and selling merchandise, and that no one was to do them any harm, nor any fraud, neither in the prices nor in the goods, and they were to give them everything the same as to the other foreign merchants, and that they should give them boats to embark every evening what they bought in the day, and that they might buy goods in what quantities they pleased, and that they should not pay more duties than what were customary in the country, both with regard to what they bought and what they sold; and this trade of buying and selling was to last for ever with such good friendship as if he was own brother to the King of Portugal; and of this he was to take oath, according to his usage, and give his signature. If he was satisfied with this, and gave his oath and signature, a factor would then go on shore immediately with the goods. When all should have been thus established, and the buying and selling commenced, and the captain-major should see that this was being done with order and friendship, he would immediately, on hostages being sent, go on shore to establish and confirm this peace also with his oath; and would show the letters which he brought from the king with his present. All this the captain-major gave in writing to Nicolas Coelho. While this was being done, the Nair was looking at the things which were spread out, at which he was surprised, and the captain-major gave him a cap and a knife with a sheath; and, as the cap had no tassel, he asked to have one of the other caps and knives, but the broker told him that those were to be taken to the king. Then they went ashore, and when they landed many people ran up, and when they reached the gate of the palace they found many seats like benches of earth, very well arranged, on which was seated the Gozil on a mat of many patterns; he rose and made a salutation to Nicolas Coelho, and made him sit close to him; there were here two hundred men of the Nairs who were in the service of the Gozil. He ordered the Nair who had come with them to go inside the palace to take information to the king, and the Nair went and remained so long without returning, that it appears he was relating to the king all that he had seen in the ship. It was now very late, for this happened after they had already

dined, and the sun had set, when a message arrived from the king that he could not speak to them as he was engaged, and would speak to them next morning. Nicolas Coelho said nothing, and asked the Gozil to order a boat to be prepared for him and he would return to the ship. He answered that the sea was high, and for that reason no one could go to the ships at night. They remained there a great part of the night; then the Gozil sent Nicolas Coelho to the house of a Gentile, a man of the country, which was a very good house; and he ordered them to give him there boiled rice, which they set before him on green fig leaves, which were as broad as a sheet of paper; and they gave him fowls, roast and boiled after their fashion, and good figs. When they had done eating, they gave them mats on which they slept upon benches like those that were at the king's door. The Castilian, who had seen everything, when it was night kept walking before the door of the house, until Nicolas Coelho came out for a moment, when he told him to dissemble, because they were exposing him to these delays in order that he might get angry and lose his temper, and he went away not to be seen speaking to Coelho. Next day Nicolas Coelho took it very easily and leisurely in the house until they came to call him, when he went to the king's house, where he was met at the door by the overseer of the treasury, with many people, who received him with much honour, and told him that the king was indisposed and could not talk to him, and that the king sent word that Coelho was to say to him all that he wished. Nicolas Coelho said that he had brought a message which the captain-major had ordered him to repeat to the king, and therefore he could not speak it except to him; and if the king was indisposed, he would go back to the ships and would come whenever the king pleased. The overseer of the treasury pressed him to speak to him, but Nicolas Coelho would not, and asked him for a boat to return to his ship. The overseer of the treasury sent word of this to the king, who ordered him to be introduced. The overseer of the treasury then brought Coelho to where the king was, in a small house like a chamber with little light. The king was seated on a low bed covered with a white cloth; near him was one of his Brahmans, who are like their clergy. Nicolas Coelho made his most profound salutation to the king, and remained standing in silence. The Brahman asked the broker why he did not speak; and the broker repeated this in another language to Joan Nūz, who repeated it

to Nicolas Coelho: and he replied that he could not speak without the king's commanding him to do so. Then the king bade him speak, and he gave him the whole message which he had brought, as the captain-major had ordered him. After hearing it, the king told him to go outside and wait, and the overseer of the treasury would bring him the answer. Nicolas Coelho replied that he would not receive the answer from any one except from himself. Then the king said that he was satisfied with all he had asked, and he ordered the overseer of the treasury to carry it all out, and with that he dismissed him. When they had again come outside, the overseer of the treasury told him to say what goods they had brought. He replied that they would bring what they had got on shore, and if they were not satisfied with them, they would take them back again, and would buy with gold and silver, but that they would have to settle the prices, and do all this after that the king had made everything secure as he had said; and then they would commence trade of buying and selling as in a country of a friend and brother of the King of Portugal, and the captain-major would come on shore to give the embassage which he had brought for the king. A message of this was sent back to the king, who sent his signature on a dry leaf of a palm tree: the king's Brahman brought it; it was written with letters made with strokes. The Brahman took a thread which he wore hung round his shoulders between his thumbs with his hands joined, and swore that the king had signed that leaf, and in it affirmed everything just as the captain-major had requested. Then Nicolas Coelho spoke to the broker, who told him to take the leaf with marks of satisfaction, that he believed all as true, and afterwards he would see how the business advanced. Then Nicolas Coelho, with signs of pleasure, took the leaf and kissed it, and placed it on his head, and put it in his bosom, and asked the overseer of the treasury to give him a boat to take the message to the captain-major. This he gave him at once, and on going to the beach the Castilian passed by the broker and put into his hand a writing by which he told the captain-major to make rejoicing over the king's leaf, and to send on shore a small quantity of merchandise for selling and buying each day, and that at night they should embark what they bought; and to send a factor with the broker and Joan Nūz, and another man, and that they should be warned not to try to obtain more than was offered. When Nicolas Coelho arrived, and Vasco da Gama

saw the letter of the Castilian, and Coelho had related to him what had happened, what the Castilian said seemed to him good advice, and he ordered flags to be hung out, and the trumpets to be sounded, and salutes to be fired with several charges in both ships; at which the people were amazed, seeing the ships fire so many discharges. Immediately after, the captain-major, running the risk of the luck which God might give, appointed as factor, one Diego Diaz a man of the king's establishment, and as clerk Peter de Braga, and with them Joan Nũz, and the broker and the Moorish pilot from Melinde, whom he invited to go with them on shore. By the advice of the broker, in order to settle the price, he sent in a chest one hundred-weight of unwrought branch coral, and as much of vermilion, and a barrel of quicksilver, fifty pigs of copper, twenty strings of large cut coral, and as many of amber, and five Portugueses of gold, fifty cruzados, and a hundred testoons in silver; also a table with a green cloth, and a wooden balance with four weights of a quintal, and one half quintal, and he ordered them to accept as the price what was given them, and to verify it with the balance and weights. All which the clerk was to write down in the book which he carried for that purpose, and they were not to crave more than what was given them; and by no means to persist, nor to allow the broker to show any urgency or obstinacy, as was his custom; and in everything they were to show that they were pleased, and to act so that they should rather be considered as simple men than as wary; and he told the broker and pilot not to be in anywise obstinate in buying and selling, as such was their custom, and when they did not find a good market they went to some other place where they found it better. Having given all of them instructions as to what they had to do, he sent them in the boat, in which they went to a short distance from the land, and anchored with a grapnel, because they could not reach the land, for the waves broke very much, and only the Indian skiffs were able to take the waves, which did them no harm. As soon as the boat anchored, there came at once a skiff from the shore, in which the broker and Joan Nũz and the pilot placed themselves, and went on shore to ask the overseer of the treasury to give them a house on the beach for the factor to remain there with the goods which they were bringing; and he at once gave orders to the broker to take whichever house he pleased. This he did, and took a large house in two compartments, from which they at once cleared out the people who

lived in it. The skiff brought the factor and the clerk and all the merchandise, and the balance which they suspended, and they placed the table with a bench which they also brought from the ship; the merchandise they placed in the other apartment. Soon after the overseer of the treasury came with many Nairs, whom he ordered to keep off many people and Moors who were looking on. The factor then showed all that he had got there to the overseer of the treasury, who asked him if he had got much goods of those which he had shown him. He replied that he had little, because much others had gone in the other ship, and that he would sell all that he had if he found anything to buy. The overseer asked what money he had got, and the factor showed it him. The overseer of the treasury then sent for a changer, who weighed it all, and proved it with his touch-stones, which they carry for that purpose, and with which they are very clever; and they set a value on each coin, which they told to the factor, and the clerk wrote it down, and it was higher than in Portugal. The factor said that it was worth more in his country, but that they might make a profit on their purchases. A price was then set upon each article of merchandise separately by itself, upon which a large profit was made, both in the value and also in the weight, which they named farazolas, which, being verified by the scales, gives twenty farazolas and eighteen pounds one bahar. They also settled the prices of pepper and all the drugs. When they wanted to set a price upon other goods, the factor said that he had not got leave to buy anything else but drugs. Then the Gozil asked what they wanted next, for he was also there, having come later, bringing with him a few Moors of his party for them to see what was being done. The overseer of the treasury then asked if they wished to begin weighing at once; they said yes, he then ordered many sacks of pepper to be brought; which were weighed in their balance, which was large and with one arm only, and each weighed five farazolas. The factor received it as it was in the sacks, without deduction for the sacks, and without speaking about the price, since it was very little. All day they weighed pepper, and in the evening they reckoned what it was worth, and the factor told the overseer of the treasury to take payment in any sort of goods as he pleased: this he took in cut coral, and copper and quicksilver, which was sufficient for the goods which had been weighed; all which was weighed very favourably to his satisfaction by the overseer of the treasury, who

hindered him in nothing; so the factor gave him more than the weight, until the balance touched the ground. Having ended, all the goods were carried away and embarked in Indian skiffs, which put it into the boats, both of which took the cargo, and the skiffs returned ashore. Whilst the overseer of the treasury was about to go away, the factor gave him ten ells of crimson satin and four red caps, and six knives with sheaths, which the overseer thanked him for, making many offers; and he asked the factor what goods he wished to put on board next day: he replied that he would send and ask the captain-major. Then the overseer of the treasury left him a Nair, who was always to remain for his protection; this the factor thanked him for very much, and was glad of it, because he made the people keep off from the door, who smothered them. The boats went to the ship, and with them the clerk Peter de Braga, who went to give an account of what had happened, and show the book in which he had written the weights and prices of everything and of the money, at which they experienced great satisfaction and gave great praise to the Lord. Next day they sent more copper in the boats, and also a little more or less of the other goods, as much as was sufficient for weighing during the day. Vasco da Gama sent to tell the factor to ask the overseer of the treasury to give them pepper because it had to go below all the other goods; and to buy poles and planks to make compartments for each sort of goods to go separate, which was done. Next day the boats went in the morning to take their posts, and the Indian skiffs came at once and carried the goods on shore. Then the overseer of the treasury ordered pepper to be carried to the factory, and sent one of his clerks to be present at the weighing. When the overseer of the treasury related to the king the prices which he had fixed, and the manner in which things had been weighed, he was much pleased at the large profits which were made, and which doubled the money of all that was bought and sold; and he told the overseer of the treasury to give them also some of all the other goods, so as to see with which most gain was made. During this day also pepper was weighed as the factor had requested, and he paid the labourers what the king's clerk, who was looking on at the weighing, told him to give them. The pilot also purchased planks and rafters, which he took to the ships in Indian boats, for which a fixed price had been established for each journey they made to the boats or to the ships. The boats remained constantly in the position they had taken, each

one with two swivel guns and a gunner, and sailors with pikes under the benches, and swords placed below the thwarts of the boats, and they carried with them provisions to eat, and were always ready at hand to come up if any disturbance occurred; and they went on weighing until the evening, when the overseer of the treasury came to make the account and receive the merchandise, and he took those goods which the factor gave him, because upon all of them much money was gained. At night, when the Portuguese took the goods on board, the overseer of the treasury went to give an account to the king, who ordered that ginger should be given next day, which was done, and the ginger was brought to the factory; it came smeared with red clay, because it was exported in that manner, for with the clay it travelled better, and with more strength. But the clay was so much in excess of what was sufficient that the clay weighed much more than the ginger, which was a great robbery of the Portuguese, and the factor understood it, because the broker pointed it out to him; but he dissembled and told the overseer of the treasury to order more clay to be put upon the ginger, because it had to go a long way. Of this the overseer of the treasury ordered so much to be brought, that they had to spend three days in weighing it; during these they also brought in some pepper, because the factor said it was necessary to stow it below the other merchandise. The Mozambique pilot who was in the ship arranged the compartments with the rafters and planks, all which were made very strong and pitched over, which was done by the ship's workmen; and they were lined with matting, of which there was plenty on shore, made for this purpose of stowing cargo in ships. The pilot told the captain-major that each kind of goods was to go by itself separated from the rest, because that which went mixed was spoiled, the one kind by another; and it was thus executed as the pilot directed. When three days had passed, during which they weighed the ginger, the overseer of the treasury said that they should take cinnamon; the factor said they would take the cinnamon last, because, as it was a bulky article of little weight, it must lie on the top of the cargo. The overseer replied that it was necessary they should take a little of it, because they had to clear out a house in which it was kept. The factor, seeing that perforce he would have to do as the overseer chose, could not do anything else; and the cinnamon was brought in packages of sticks and mats, and so they weighed it, and it was old cinnamon and of a bad quality

which was unserviceable. The factor acted as if he did not perceive it, and weighed it, and the boats went loaded with it three times during a day till nightfall, to the ships, and all of it was discharged into the ship of the captain-major, which as yet had got no cargo. The factor wrote to the captain-major that he had taken the cinnamon, although it was bad, because the overseer of the treasury had sent it for him to take. The captain-major answered him, telling him to take everything, even should they be worse goods, because they were not able to do better; and that he was always to ask for pepper, which was the most suitable, because they could not stow away cargo without first having pepper to go below. The king was so covetous, on account of the large gains he was making upon the purchases and sales, that he now no longer recollected anything about the embassy. The Moors felt great vexation at seeing the Portuguese thus taking in cargo, and that like stupid people they accepted so unprofitably whatever was given them without making any complaint, since these were bad articles, which were not worth the half of what they were giving for them, and the merchandise which they gave was with excess of weight; and they knew that the king was so covetous that, as long as the Portuguese wished to buy, the king would sooner supply our men than them; on which account, if many ships came to fetch cargo, they would entirely lose their trade. So they went to speak to the Gozil, and made a long exposition to him, saying that he very well saw that the buying and selling of the Portuguese was like that of stupid men, who gave for merchandise the double of what it was worth, and who took rotten things which were of no use, and were delighted with them as if they were good; all which the king gave because he gained so much by it; and that it was certain that always and whenever the Christians should come thither, he would be selling merchandise and supplying cargo to them sooner than to the Moors. Wherefore, if they could not get cargoes as they had done for so many years, they would be entirely ruined, and all their remedy to prevent this coming to pass lay in his hand, and in that of the overseer of the treasury, as they could counsel the king not to establish peace nor trade with the Portuguese except after he had first had many years experience of their being sincere friends; because it was very clear that they were not merchants, but spies who came to see the country, in order to come afterwards with a large fleet to take and plunder it; because, if they were really mer-

chants, they would not buy in that manner, nor unprofitably give such high prices for that which was worth nothing: and withal the king was so covetous, that he neither saw nor understood how much this was of importance to his kingdom and his vassals, and he had established peace and trade, in order to see the embassy, and learn of what nature it was, all which had been entirely forgotten. And since they would give the Gozil and the overseer as much as they pleased, they should find the means of counselling the king to send for the embassy to come on shore, and to do his business as so great a king should do. If the ambassador came, by showing him great state he would esteem the king much more highly, because the Grand Turk, whenever he received an embassy from any king, however great he might be, the ambassador, before he saw him, waited at his doors for many days, for all consisted in points of honour and state and ceremony which great kings have to uphold; and after that the embassy had been heard, many days pass before the reply is despatched. Therefore, since the Gozil had already given them his word, let him take some action in the matter so as to prevent the cargo being proceeded with, and then they would at once see the arrogance of the Portuguese, and that which they concealed under the cloak of merchants. The Gozil offered to do it, for he felt envy on account of what the overseer of the treasury had got from our men, and he went to the king and spoke to him in the manner in which the Moors had spoken to him; upon which the king sent to call the overseer of the treasury, and talked over with him what the Gozil had been saying. The overseer said that the Portuguese put all on board, and paid as much as was asked, without rejecting or refusing anything; at which the Gozil said, that on that account he had great suspicions that the Portuguese were not merchants; that if they were so, they would not take poor and despicable merchandise, giving for it double what it was worth, but that he understood truly that they were evil men of war, and thus in the guise of merchants they entered into countries to spy and search in order afterwards to come and rob, and therefore they ought not to give them cargo, but rather to kill them all and burn the ships, so that they should never return there again. The king said, since that was their opinion, he would send for the ambassador to come, who would bring him the present, and afterwards they would do whatever would be for the best, and that they should still go on selling goods to them, because if

they did not supply them, the Portuguese would at once be filled with suspicions of evil, on account of which the ambassador would not come on shore: this seemed to them good. The king then arranged with the Gozil the coming and reception of the ambassador, and that after he had come on shore, he would go thence outside to Panané, where he used to reside frequently, and he would order the ambassador to come thither, if he did not go, he would order him to be brought by force, and he would order him to be seized if he broke out into any violence; and they settled that that would be a good course. Immediately next day the Gozil sent one of the king's Nairs with a message to the captain-major, that the king said that since peace had been established as he desired, and he was loading his ships, he would be pleased if he came to deliver the embassy which he had brought for him. The Castilian, who took good care, as it pleased the Lord, on learning these things, came at night in the garb of a beggar, and going along begging alms, reached the door of the factory, and begged alms in Castilian, and the factor recognised him, because the Castilian told him by a sign, and he brought him inside, when he told the factor that the captain-major was not to come ashore without good hostages, and that he would give him a sign of what would be a good one: then he went out again, begging in the same way. This the factor wrote to the captain-major, who, on hearing the message of the Nair, told him that he was ready to go at once, and he asked him as a favour at once to send a hostage to the ship as was the custom for ambassadors, because he was ready to go immediately. When the king heard this, with the longing that he had for the present, he told the Gozil to send a couple of Nairs, of the most honourable that he had, and with them his nephew. The Gozil did not like this, as he did not know what would turn out. The king told him to send them, because after the ambassador had come on shore he would send for them to come, and of this he gave him his promise. Then the three Nairs, with very good cloths, and gold bracelets on the shield-arms above their elbows, and gold earrings in their ears, and their swords and splendid shields, which it is their custom always to carry as long as they live, by day and night, were delivered over by the Gozil to the factor, for him to convey them to the ship; he excused himself from doing so, saying he could not because he was weighing, but that the interpreter Joan Nūz would go to the king for him to deliver them up, because they had to be

received from the king's hand, and then he would conduct them to the ship. This the Gozil did, and went with the interpreter to the king, and delivered to him the hostages. Meanwhile, the Castilian found time to tell the factor which of the three Nairs was the Gozil's nephew, who was sufficient. They went immediately in an Indian boat to the ship, and the captain-major received them with much honour; and seeing three hostages, on account of the notice which he had already received from the factor, he said through the interpreter that one hostage was sufficient for so great a king as was the king of Calecut, even though he were only one youth belonging to his household. They then got ready at once, and the captain-major ordered all the articles which I have before mentioned to be wrapped up in handkerchiefs and napkins, and the Nairs were delighted to see them; and he ordered the trumpeters to be dressed in white and red liveries which he had had made; and on the trumpets were set streamers of white and red taffety, with a gilt sphere upon them, and their slings, and the trumpets were cleaned and burnished so that they shone like gold. He took to accompany him twelve men well clothed, and some of his household, and there went Alvaro de Braga, Joan de Setubal, and Joan Palha, all smart men. The clothes of the captain-major and the articles of silver were put in a chest, and all embarked in the boat, and he took one of the Nairs, and left the other with the Gozil's nephew, well lodged in an apartment of his cabin, to whom Paulo da Gama gave a good welcome. Next day Vasco da Gama went in the boats, which also carried goods for the factory, where the Gozil, with many people, was on the beach waiting for him; and he first sent the Nair to go and tell the king that he was there, and with him he sent an interpreter. This the captain-major did on account of a warning from the Castilian, who sent him word that the king was about to go five leagues outside the city, in order to bid him go thither, and that this was at the advice of the Moors. The Nair and interpreter, on reaching land and mentioning the message with which they were going to the king, were sent back again by the Gozil to the captain-major to tell him to disembark and that they would go to the king's houses, and that he had had to go outside the city in a hurry and would return in the evening, and had given orders for them to wait there till he came. Vasco da Gama sent the Nair on shore to wait until he saw the king and tell him that he was coming at his summons, and that as he did not find him,

on that account he was returning to the ship until the king came: and if he sent for him to come, he would come at once. At this the Gozil felt melancholy; and said to the factor that the captain-major did wrong not to come out and wait for the king as he had bidden. The factor told him that the captain-major was doing what he was ordered by his instructions, and that he was not to give his embassy by night but by day, when the king was in his palace with all his nobles. Then he sent word to the captain-major to send the hostages on shore that they might go and eat. The captain-major answered that he had not got to send them, that he had no authority over them, and that they could very well go away if they pleased, as he was not going to keep them by force. Then Vasco da Gama spoke to the hostages, and told them that he had been going on shore to speak to the king, and that he had not found him, since the Gozil had sent to say that the king had gone outside to some other part, and that he had sent him word to send them on shore, which he could not order them to do, because the king had ordered them to remain there in the ship until he had spoken to him; therefore, if they wished to go, they might go and welcome, as he did not keep them by force. The Nairs said that they would not go except with the king's orders, and they sent to say this to the Gozil; on account of which they brought them their food and water, which they drank. The Gozil sent a message to the king of what the captain-major had done.

The king was angry because he was inclined to go out of the city, and he came back at once next day, and sent to tell the captain-major that he was in his palace waiting for him. Upon this the captain-major went at once in the boat, and the Moorish broker took him on shore with all the packages in large Indian boats, and he went into the factory, where he dressed himself in a long cloak coming down to his feet, of tawny coloured satin, lined with smooth brocade, and underneath a short tunic of blue satin, and white buskins, and on his head a cap with lappets of blue velvet, with a white feather fastened under a splendid medal; and a valuable enamel collar on his shoulders, and a rich sash with a handsome dagger. He had a page dressed in red satin, and in front of him went the men in file one before another. First after these went the basin, carried wrapped in a napkin by a man who held it against his breast, and in front another with the ewer; then a tray with the knives and caps, and then the

open mirror which had doors, and all was splendidly gilt; next the pieces of silk, and in front of all the chair carried upon the head of the broker; and there was in front a piece of scarlet cloth opened so as to show it. Before these went the trumpets sounding, and the factor went with a cane in his hand, and his cap off, as he conducted all the bearers of the present. The king was in a balcony and saw everything in the order in which it came, with great pleasure at seeing such rich things. The factor entered in front and presented each thing to the king, and he placed a cushion upon the chair, and another at its foot [and said], that the ambassador asked him as a favour to sit on the chair for him to give him his embassy seated on that chair, and the king, with the great satisfaction which he experienced, sat upon it. Before arriving at the palace there was a long street through which the captain-major went; but the crowd was so great that our men could not advance, even though there were many Nairs making the people keep off, and in that crowd there were a great number of Moors also with swords and shields, after the fashion of the Nairs. The captain-major went very leisurely and without fatiguing himself, and remained still until they had made the people stand off. Before reaching the palace, by the king's orders, the Catual of the king's house came to receive the captain-major; he is the chief officer of the guard of the king's palace, and if anyone enters where the king dwells without his leave, immediately he will order his head to be cut off at the door of the palace without asking the king's pleasure about it. With this Catual the Portuguese proceeded with less encumbrance, because he ordered the people to keep off, and they were much afraid of him. Each time the factor presented any piece of goods, the king looked at it for some time, and this caused much detention. When the captain-major arrived, he was conducted through many courts and verandahs to a dwelling opposite to that in which the king was, beyond, in another room arranged with silk stuffs of various colours, and a white canopy, which was of subtle workmanship and covered the whole room. The king was sitting in his chair, which the factor had got him to sit upon; he was a very dark man, half naked, and clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees: one of these cloths ended in a long point on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies, which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow, which seemed like three rings together, the middle one

larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one which bore large stones which could not fail to be of very great value; from this middle ring hung a pendent stone which glittered: it was a diamond of the thickness of a thumb; it seemed a priceless thing. Round his neck was a string of pearls about the size of hazel nuts, the string took two turns and reached to his middle; above it he wore a thin round gold chain which bore a jewel of the form of a heart, surrounded with larger pearls, and all full of rubies: in the middle was a green stone of the size of a large bean, which, from its showiness was of great price, which was called an emerald; and, according to the information which the Castilian afterwards gave the captain-major of this jewel, and of that which was in the bracelet on his arm, and of another pearl which the king wore suspended in his hair, they were all three belonging to the ancient treasury of the kings of Calcut. The king had long dark hair, all gathered up and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, and at the end of the string a pendent pearl pear-shaped and larger than the rest, which seemed a thing of great value. His ears were pierced with large holes, with many gold ear-rings of round beads. Close to the king stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him; he held a red shield with a border of gold and jewels, and a boss in the centre of a span's breadth of the same materials, and the rings inside for the arm were of gold; also a short drawn sword of an ell's length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery with pendent pearls. On the other side stood another page, who held a gold cup with a wide rim, into which the king spat; and at the side of his chair was his chief Brahman, who gave him from time to time a green leaf closely folded with other things inside it, which the king ate and spat into the cup. That leaf is of the size of an orange leaf, and the king was always eating it; and after much mastication he spat it into the cup, and takes a fresh one, because he only tastes the juice of this leaf and the mixture that goes with it of quicklime and other things, which they call areca, cut up small; it is of the size of a chestnut. Thus chewed all together, it makes the mouth and teeth very red, because they use it all day wherever they may be going, and it makes the breath very pleasant. The factor having finished presenting all the things to the king, which he was looking at very leisurely, the ambassador arrived and made profound salu-

tations to the king; and the king, bowing his head and his body a little, extended his right hand and arm, and with the points of his fingers he touched the right hand of the captain-major, and bade him sit upon the dais upon which he was; but he did not sit down, and spoke to him through the language which Joan Nūz spoke to the broker, and the broker spoke to the Brahman, who was by the king; there were also there the overseer of the treasury and the Gozil, and Vasco da Gama said to the king, 'Sire, you are powerful and very great above all the kings and rulers of India, and all of them are under your feet. The great king of Portugal my sovereign having heard of your grandeur, and it is spoken of throughout the world, had a great longing to become acquainted with you and to contract friendship with you as with a brother of his own, and with full and sincere peace and amity to send his ships with much merchandise, to trade and buy your merchandise, and above all pepper and drugs, of which there are none in Portugal; and with this desire he sent fifty ships with his captain-major; and he sent me to go on shore with his present and message of love and friendship, which I have presented to you, because I have been separated from the rest of my company by storms. God has been pleased to bring me here where I now am, and, therefore, I truly believe that you are the king and ruler whom we came in search of, since here we find the pepper and drugs which our king commanded us to seek, and which you, Sire, have been pleased to give us; and I have great hopes in God that before we depart hence another fleet will arrive here, or some others, for without doubt, Sire, we came to seek for you; and I tell you, Sire, that so powerful is the King of Portugal my sovereign that after I shall have returned to him with your reply, and with this cargo which you are giving me, he will send hither so many fleets and merchandise, that they will carry away as many goods as are to be had in this city. To certify the truth of what I say, here is the letter of the king my sovereign signed with his hand and seal, and in it you will see his good and true words which he says to you.' Vasco da Gama then kissed the letter and placed it upon his eyes, and upon his head, and gave it to the king with his knee on the ground; the king took it and placed it on his breast with both hands, showing marks of friendship, and opened it and looked at it, then gave it to the overseer of the treasury, telling him to get it translated. The king then said to Vasco da Gama that he should go and rest, and that

he would see the letter and answer it; and that he should ask the overseer of the treasury for whatever merchandise he wished to put on board, and he would give it him; also whatever he required for the ships; and that he should send all his people to the city to amuse themselves, and to buy whatever they liked, for no one would do them any harm. He told the Gozil to announce this by the crier, and with that he dismissed Vasco da Gama, saying that another day he would speak more at leisure, as it was now late. So Vasco da Gama went out with the overseer of the treasury, and the Gozil, and the Catual of the king's door, who brought them to the factory, with his trumpets blowing before him, and there they took leave of him with salutations. The captain-major slept at the factory, after his great satisfaction, and the next day he sent the trumpeters to the ship with a letter in which he wrote all that had taken place with the king.

[On leaving Calicut in November (1498), Da Gama proceeded to the port of Cananor, where, as before, he was faced with intrigue and misrepresentation on the part of the hostile Moors, who realized that their ancient trade monopoly was imperilled. The King of Cananor, however, had been so impressed by the remarks of his soothsayer that he determined to establish peace and amity with these new conquerors of the sea. It is significant, however, of the greatness of Moslem commercial power in the east that, according to the poet Camoens, Da Gama was advised to leave the Indian coast before the arrival of the great Arab ships from the Red Sea. The homeward voyage by Angediva Island, Melinde, the Cape, and Terceira, where Paulo da Gama, the commander's beloved brother, was buried, calls for little comment. According to Correa, Lisbon was reached on 18 September 1499.]

## CHAPTER XXII

*Of the reception and honours and favours which the King granted to Vasco da Gama, and to those who had gone with him on this voyage.*

NEXT day in the morning, Vasco da Gama went to the palace, and found the king in the wardrobe, where he was standing dressing himself. On his entrance the king made him very welcome with smiles and pleasant words, and called to him, saying, ' Dom Vasco da

Gama, you have rested but little.' Dom Vasco, with one knee on the ground, kissed his hand for the favour of the title of Dom which he had given him. The king told him that he gave it to him for the whole of his lineage, and continued talking to him of the pleasure he felt, and then went to Mass, where Dom Vasco stood within the curtain speaking to the king, and, for a long space of time after Mass, during which he gave the king many details of his affairs. After that they went to the house of the queen, whither Dom Vasco sent to summon Nicolas Coelho to come from the ship, who brought a chest in which came all the jewels and stuffs for the king. When he had come in, Dom Vasco presented him to the king, and said: 'Sire, Nicolas Coelho has not been of little account in the hardships and services, and your Highness will show him favours according to his merits.' To this the king replied: 'Dom Vasco, it shall all be as you desire.' Then he kissed the king's hand, which Nicolas Coelho did also, and then opened the chest, and presented on the queen's dais the necklaces and jewels and stuffs of the kings of Cananor and of Melinde, and the letters on the leaves of gold, and the piece of ambergris, which was what the queen valued the most; also the musk and porcelain which had been bought in Calcut; and when all had been gathered together, Vasco da Gama remained there relating all the principal events which had happened during his voyage, whilst all the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were present, for the king wished that they should learn how great a service Dom Vasco had rendered to him. They all offered great congratulations upon it to the king, on account of the great pleasure which they saw that he took in it, and all desired [to have performed] the services of Dom Vasco, and [to possess] the dignities which he held by a grant, and they greatly extolled the deserts of Dom Vasco. Whilst Dom Vasco da Gama was relating to the king the kindness of the King of Melinde, he told him that he had in his house two pilots whom that king had given to him, expressing a great desire that they should see with their own eyes the things of Portugal, to relate them to him on their return. The king rejoiced much at this, and told Dom Vasco to employ a man to go about with them and show them all the things which it seemed to him desirable for them to see; and this was done, and all the good things of Portugal were shown to them, especially the king and queen, with her ladies, on feast days, and at the royal dance, and the king's banquet, and the

sports with bulls and canes, and the churches and splendid palaces, and the monastery of Batalha: all which the pilots wrote down and took notes of. Dom Vasco also gave an account to the king of the Jew whom he brought and of the other captives whom he had taken in Angediva. The king told him that they were all his, to do what he pleased with. All of them became Christians, for Don Vasco took care of them all and treated them well, especially the Jew, who received the name of Gaspar da Gama, because he took him as his godson at baptism: the king spoke to this Jew frequently, and took pleasure in listening to what he related, on which account the king did him many favours, and gave him many dresses from his own wardrobe, and horses from his stables, and servants from among those who became Christians whom Dom Vasco gave to him; and all the people used to call him Gaspar of the Indies, for so he wished them to name him. After that the king ordered Dom Vasco to dispose and give orders for the payment of the crews of the ships as he thought fit, since he knew their deserts better than any one else, and the ships had now discharged their cargo. So he ordered that the officials should give to each man all that they had brought freely, and that to each man should be given ten pounds of each spice for their wives to divide with their gossips and friends, so that all might be pleased. When the cargo was taken out, all the pepper and drugs were weighed; the king ordered his officials to draw up an account of all the expense of the three ships and the merchandise and things which they had taken out, and of the recompenses and pay of the captains and crews, because all had remained written down up to their departure from Belem: and all this having been reckoned up, and also the value of the return goods, it was found that for each one there was a profit of sixty. Then the king granted to Dom Vasco a perpetual right of two hundred cruzados which he might lay out each year, of his own money, on cinnamon in Cananor, as that was the first country on the coast of India with which he had established relations. These purchases he might stow on board any ship whatever without paying freight or duties, and he might bring them free of charge to his house to be weighed, that they might not be in excess; and even though there should not be more than one ship only, he might stow them in it: and if during one year he put nothing on board, if it were not by his own default, he was to be at liberty during the following year or years to put all this cargo on board





without missing that of any year. This the king granted to him, as long as India lasted, for an inheritance of his principal heir. In addition to this, he gave him a gratification of twenty thousand cruzados in gold, which the officials carried to his house, and he granted to him ten quintals of pepper and of each drug to distribute amongst his friends, and he was allowed to carry all his goods to his house without paying any duty. The king commanded a proclamation to be made for all the survivors and heirs of the deceased sailors to come and receive all that was due to them [reckoning] up the time when the ships entered Lisbon. To each of the masters and pilots half a quintal of each drug was given, with the exception of cinnamon and mace, because the ships had brought little of it. The king prohibited their selling any of it; they were only to use it and divide amongst their friends. To the heirs of the deceased no drugs were given, only there was given to them the right to the half of their value. All this was done according to the arrangements made by Dom Vasco. The king gave a grant to Nicolas Coelho of three thousand cruzados per month for all the time that the voyage had lasted, and one quintal of all the drugs, and his goods free; and the captaincy of a ship for India in all the fleets in which he might choose to go, which he might give away or sell. To the heirs of Paulo da Gama the king gave the half of all that he had given to Dom Vasco, except the taking in cargo of ginger. On the whole, great favours and recompenses were given to one and all; because, at that time, the quintal of pepper was worth in Lisbon eighty cruzados; that of cinnamon one hundred and eighty; that of cloves two hundred; that of ginger one hundred and twenty; that of mace, three hundred; and the quintal of nutmeg one hundred. With these grants and salaries all remained rich and satisfied. The king in his great happiness gave great praises to the Lord, who had vouchsafed such great favour to him at the commencement of his reign; he sent, through the Bishop of Guarda, an offering to Our Lady of Guadalupe; he went with Dom Vasco to offer the necklace which the King of Cananor had given, with some rich stuffs, and a bag full of each kind of drug, and a piece of benzoin for the use of the convent. He also gave a large offering to the monastery of Belem, and to other holy houses, and convents of nuns, that all might give thanks and praises to the Lord for the great favour which He had shown to Portugal; this was also strongly enjoined in all the sermons and

stations throughout all the churches. The king with the queen went in solemn procession from the cathedral to San Domingo, where Calçadilha preached on the grandeur of India, and on the so great and miraculous discovery of it which the Lord had granted, and the good beginning which had been made for whatever more might please the Lord. So that he greatly stimulated and inclined the hearts of men to go thither to win honour and profit, such as they saw in the case of those who had come from thence. Then the king shortly after arranged for sending to India another large fleet of great and strong ships which could stow much cargo, and which, if they returned in safety, would bring him untold riches: all this was talked over and arranged with Dom Vasco, to whom the king gave a patent, by which he was to go as captain-major in any fleet which should sail for India; and by it he would be able to take the captaincy, notwithstanding its having been given to any other person, and he could put himself in a fleet which might already be at Belem on the point of departure; and in any fleet in which he might go as captain-major he might remove or appoint the captains of the ships according to his will and pleasure, notwithstanding that the ships had already got captains, since the king gave him all power to make and unmake in the fleet all that he chose, without the king's remaining on that account, under any obligation towards them.

Reckoning up from the day that Dom Vasco left Lisbon until the day on which he entered it, he went thirty-two months in this voyage, in which it pleased the Lord in His mercy that it should have been for His holy service, for which God the Most High be praised, as it appears at the present day by the great exaltation of His holy Catholic faith, and the wonderful increase of so many Christian communities in all parts of India, which it has pleased Him to grant to us in our days. All which may it be for His holy praise for ever. Amen.

V

THE SEARCH FOR THE NORTH-WEST  
PASSAGE



§ i. *Sir Humphrey Gilbert.*

*Introductory Note.*

HUMPHREY, the second son of Otho Gilbert of Compton, near Dartmouth, and the half-brother of Walter Raleigh, was born about the year 1539. The environment of his Devon home and of Oxford quickened his natural interest in the science of war and discovery. All his life he was a soldier and a scholar rather than a practical seaman. The first indication of his interest in exploration is to be found in a petition which he with Anthony Jenkinson presented to the Queen in April 1566 after a period of war-service with the Huguenots in Normandy. Therein he prayed for assistance in discovering a way to the Orient by the north-east. While serving under Lord Deputy Sydney in Ireland, he evidently changed his plans. For on returning to London in November he presented a second petition 'Concerning the discoveringe of a passage by the North (West) to go to Cataia'. For the time being, however, nothing came of either project. From 1569 to 1570 he ruled Munster skilfully but with severity and was rewarded with a knighthood. The next three years were spent in the House of Commons and in fighting with the Netherlanders against Spain.

At this point his military career comes to an end, and the exploration phase, which lasted for the rest of his life, begins. Five years (1573-8) were spent in retirement, during which he studied all available evidence relating to the subject which was now absorbing him. His deductions were committed to writing in a number of 'exercises', of which the famous *Discourse* printed below is the most important. It resulted in the granting of a licence to Sir Martin Frobisher and the setting out of his subsequent voyages. The *Discourse* was published in 1576, probably without Gilbert's sanction. That the latter regarded sea-power as the essential basis of discovery and colonization is illustrated by another pamphlet of his in 1577, entitled 'How Her Majesty might annoy the King of Spain by fitting out a fleet of war-ships under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and so fall upon the enemy's shipping, destroy his trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies, and possess both Regions'. No support was secured for the proposition, but in 1578 Gilbert at last obtained his desire by the grant of a charter for discovery and settlement in the regions of the north-west.

The ensuing disasters are well-known. Assisted by Raleigh, he fitted out an expedition and sailed from Dartmouth on 18th November, but only to suffer so severely at the hands of Spaniards near Cape Verde that he was obliged to return home in the following May. All his capital had been fruitlessly expended. For the next five years he lived in extreme poverty, seeking aid for a further attempt to colonize Newfoundland.

Finally a number of Southampton speculators agreed to finance an expedition in return for a share in the privileges. On 11th June 1583 Gilbert sailed from Plymouth Sound with a fleet of five ships, the *Delight*, the *Raleigh* (which put back to England before clearing the Channel), the *Goldern Hind*, the *Swallow*, and the *Squirrel*. After sighting the north coast of Newfoundland, Gilbert took formal possession of the district about the harbour of St. John (5th August), thus founding the first English colony in North America. Very soon the more disreputable elements among the settlers produced a state of lawlessness with which Gilbert found himself unable to cope. The *Swallow* was sent home with the sick and those who wished to abandon the venture, while Gilbert with the remaining ships explored the coast to the south. On 29th August the *Delight* went aground and became a wreck. Two days later Gilbert altered course for England, intending to return in the following Spring. His subsequent refusal to leave the *Squirrel* for the larger and safer ship, the *Goldern Hind*; the sight of him sitting abaft with a book in his hand as the *Squirrel* was tossed up and down like a cork by the storm; and the cry from the watchman on the *Hind* when the lights of the little vessel suddenly disappeared, constitute one of the best-known scenes in English naval history.

Headstrong and unpractical though he was, Gilbert by his insight and enthusiasm provided a stepping stone, as it were, between mere bucanneering and permanent overseas expansion.

A DISCOURSE WRITTEN BY SIR HUMPHREY  
GILBERT KNIGHT, TO PROUE A PASSAGE BY  
THE NORTHWEST TO CATHAIA, AND THE  
EAST INDIES<sup>1</sup>

*To prove by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to  
goe to Cathaia, and the East India.*

CHAPTER I

WHEN I gave my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia and Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to bee an Iland environed round about with Sea, having on the Southside of it the frete or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the sea that severeth it from Groneland,<sup>2</sup> thorow which Northern Seas the Passage lyeth, which I take now in hand to discover.

Plato in Timaeo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibraltar, navigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis did as well enjoy the governance of all Affrike, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to prove Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinaeus Siculus in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there have bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraven with the Image of Augustus Caesar: which pieces were sent to the Pope for a testimonie of the matter, by John Rufus Archbishop of Consentinum.

Moreover, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Graecian,

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Greenland.

and Proclus, and Philo the famous Jew (as appeareth in his booke *De Mundo*, and in the *Commentaries upon Plato*,) to be overflowen and swallowed up with water, by reason of a mightie earthquake, and streaming downe of the heavenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened unto some part of Italy, when by the forcibleness of the Sea, called *Superum*, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in *Justine*, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chanced the like in *Zeland* a part of *Flanders*.

And also the Cities of *Pyrrrha* and *Antissa*, about *Meotis palus*: and also the Citie *Burys*, in the *Corynthian* bosome, commonly called *Sinus Corinthiacus*, have bene swallowed up with the Sea, and are not at this day to be discerned: By which accident *America* grew to be unknowen of long time, unto us of the later ages, and was lately discovered againe by *Americus Vespucius*, in the yeere of our Lord 1497, which some say to have bene first discovered by *Christophorus Columbus* a *Genuois*, Anno 1492.

The same calamitie happened unto this Isle of *Atlantis* 600, and odde yeres before *Plato* his time, which some of the people of the Southeast parts of the world accompted as 9000 yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the *Zodiak* for a yeere, which is our usual moneth, depending à *Luminari minori*.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande be found or judged to bee parcell of this *Atlantis*, then those *Westerne Islands*, which beare now the name of *America*: countervailing thereby the name of *Atlantis*, in the knowledge of our age.

Then, if when no part of the sayd *Atlantis*, was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coast round about the same were navigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the North-west, seeing the most part of it was (since that time) swallowed up with water, which could not utterly take away the olde deeps and chanel, but rather be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then should we now doubt of our Northwest passage and navigation from *England* to *India*? &c. seeing that *Atlantis* now called *America*, was ever knowen to be an Island, and in those dayes navigable round about, which by accesse of more water could not be diminished.

Also *Aristotle* in his booke *De Mundo*, and the learned *Germaine Simon Gryneus* in his annotations upon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifestly doth appeare, *Asia*,

Africk and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen) is but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the sea Atlantine: which likewise prooveth America to be an Island, and in no part adjoyning to Asia, or the rest.

Also many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea, (which lieth East of India) *Atlanticum pelagus*, and that sea also on the West coasts of Spaine and Africk, *Mare Atlanticum*: the distance betweene the two coasts is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name *Atlanticum pelagus* of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the sea adjoining to Africk, had the name *Oceanus Atlanticus* of the same mountaine: but that those seas and the mountaine Atlas were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, sometime king thereof, who was Japhet yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was divided between the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Japhet.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest will be found favourable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleieve the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Phylosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers, as Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Apianus, Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael Tramasinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vavator, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius, who doth coast out in his generall Mappe set out Anno 1569,<sup>1</sup> all the countreys and Capes, on the Northwest side of America, from Hochalega to Cape de Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Islands disjoynd by a great Sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and painefull travellers have affirmed with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will give the attempt, may with small danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccae, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portu-

<sup>1</sup> See reproduction of this map opposite p. 144.

gal doeth, or may doe, from the neerest parte, of any of their countreys within Europe.

What moved these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende so many and sundry travellers of both ages have allowed the same: But I conjecture that they would never have so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to have lead them thereunto.

Now least you should make small accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which travelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongst fables of no importance: I have for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue and translated into English by M. Nowel servant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer of England, wherein there is described a Navigation which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, king of Westsaxe Anno 871, the words of which discourse were these: Hee sailed right North, having alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine sea, continuing his course, untill hee perceived that the coast bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to stay until he had a westernne winde, or somewhat upon the North, and sayled thence directly East alongst the coast, so farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary untill hee had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not howe farre into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could travell in the space of five dayes, where hee discovered a mighty river, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this river he turned backe againe.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very same way, that we now doe yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moscovia, which no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by sea, until it was since discovered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt;<sup>1</sup> but thought before that time that Groneland had joyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new discovery, being nothing so indeede, as by this discourse of Ochther it appeareth.

<sup>1</sup> By Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor.

[illegible]



Neverthelesse if any man should have taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he should have bene thought but simple: considering that this Navigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure author, and yet we in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeeve this passage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainely set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables and discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied but left as a matter doubtfull.

*To proove by reason, a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, &c.*

## CHAPTER II

FIRST, all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the end any River, Bay or Haven is, the shallower it waxeth, (although by some accidentall barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you sayle West from Island<sup>1</sup> towards the place, where this fret<sup>2</sup> is thought to be, the more deepe are the seas: which giveth us good hope of continuance of the same Sea with Mar del Sur, by some fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

2 Also if that America were not an Island, but a port of y<sup>e</sup> continent adjoyning to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, and Quinsay, &c. being borderers upon it, would before this time have made some road into it, hoping to have found some like cōmodities to their owne.

3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore have sought farre and neere for new seats, driven thereunto through the necessitie of their cold and miserable countreys) would in all this time have found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene never so straite or difficult; the countrey being so temperate, pleasant and fruitfull, in comparison of their owne. But there was never any such people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who first discovered the Inland

<sup>1</sup> Iceland.

<sup>2</sup> strait.

of that countrey: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen must then of necessitie have seene some one civil man in America, considering how full of civill people Asia is: But they never saw so much as one token or signe, that ever any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

4 Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America have entred Asia, if it were so joyned: yet some one savage or wandering beast would in so many yeres have passed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proveth America, not onely to be one Island, and in no part adjoyning to Asia: But also that the people of those Countreys, have not had any traffique with each other.

5 Moreover at the least some one of those painefull travellers, which of purpose have passed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to discover, would as it is most likely have gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to have joyned them together, or els have declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venetus,<sup>1</sup> who lived and dwelt a long time in Cataia, ever came into America, and yet was at the sea coastes of Mangia, over against it where he was embarked, and perfourmed a great Navigation along those seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, who travelled the North part of America by land, ever found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly from the East to the West, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moveable, aswel celestiall as elemental: which motion of the waters is most evidently seene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southside of Afrike where the current that runneth from the East to the West is so strong (by reason of such motiō) that the Portugals in their voyages Eastward to Calicut, in passing by Cap. de buona Sperança are inforced to make divers courses, the current there being so swift as it

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo.

strieth from thence all along Westward upon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth; and not having free passage and entrance thorow the fret towards the West, by reason of the narrownesse of the sayd Straite of Magellan, it runneth to salve this wrong, (Nature not yeelding to accidentall restraints) all along the Easterne coastes of America, Northwards so far as Cape Fredo, being the farthest knowne place of the same continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithall the trending of the land.

8 So that this current being continually maintained with such force, as Jaques Cartier<sup>1</sup> affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sayled along the coastes of America, then either it must of necessitie have way to passe from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Westward towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salve his former wrongs, by the authority before named: or els it must needes strike over, upon the coast of Island, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are East from the sayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, upon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, upon which coastes Jaques Cartier met with the same, considering the shortnesse of the Cut from the sayd Cape Fredo, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would have continually followed along our coasts, through the narrow seas, which it doth not, but is disgested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there thorow this fret.

The like course of the water in some respect happeneth in the Mediterrane sea, (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the current which cometh from Tanais, and Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coastes of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coastes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

It may (peradventure) bee thought that this course of the sea doth sometime surcease, and thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Jaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I answere this: that albeit, in every

<sup>1</sup> The famous French navigator, who in 1541 founded the first settlement at St. Croix's harbour, and sailed up the St. Lawrence to which he gave its present name.

part of the Coast of America, or elsewhere this current is not sensibly perceived, yet it hath evermore such like motion, either in the uppermost or nethermost part of the sea; as it may be proved true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, fastening to the nethermost corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driving whereof you shall plainly perceive, the course of the water, and current running with such course in the bottome.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soever you be off the land.<sup>1</sup>

9 Also there commeth another current from out the North-east from the Scythian Sea (as M. Jenkinson a man of rare vertue, great travaile and experience, told me) which runneth Westward to-wardes Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these currents, must have way thorow this our fret, or else encounter together and runne contrarie courses, in one line, but no such conflicts of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrador, or Terra nova, as witnesse our yeerely fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there disgested, as aforesayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not have beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world unto this day, had there not beene some thorow passage by the fret aforesayd, and so by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides and courses of the sea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as fresh rivers are by springs, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaccessse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such circular motion as aforesayd. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur is proved by the testimonie and experience, of Bernard de la Torre, who was sent from P. de la Natividad to the Moluccae, Anno domini 1542 by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Nova Hispania, which Bernard sayled 750 Leagues, on the Northside of the Aequator, and there met with

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert was not, of course, aware of the factors which produce ocean currents; but his ingenious argument will become clearer if reference is made to a modern map on which these ocean 'drifts' and currents are indicated.

a current, which came from the Northeast, the which drove him backe againe to Tidore.

Wherefore, this current being proved to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Jaques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike over upon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backside of America: therefore this current (having none other passage) must of necessity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and so trending by the Moluccae, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with *Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem*.<sup>1</sup>

So that it seemeth, we have now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shall be sufficiently remooved. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded upon experience, assureth us of this passage, if there were nothing els to put us in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I have added in this chapter following, some further prooffe hereof, by the experience of such as have passed some part of this discoverie: and in the next adjoining to that the authority of those, which have sailed wholly, thorow every part thereof.

*To prove by experience of sundry mens travels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: wherby good hope remaineth of the rest.*

### CHAPTER III

PAULUS Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee sayled 1500 miles upon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towarde the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but also as farre as he could discerne.

2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Cevola, through the country of Quivira, to Siera Nevada, found there a great sea, where were certaine ships laden with Merchandise, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrazzi,<sup>2</sup> part whereof were made of golde, and part of silver, who sig-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the East-to-West movement of the sea, which was thought to be constant.

<sup>2</sup> Pelicans.

nified by signes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewise proveth America by experience to be disjoyned from Cataia: on that part by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natives thereof: for that, so farre as is discovered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

3 In like manner, John Baros testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where he himselfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coast trendeth from thence Northeast, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the said Cosmographers knew no cause to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whose experiences America is proved to be separate from those parts of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the judgements of these learned men only, I have searched what might be further sayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciscus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an island, and likewise Gronland: and that Gronland is distant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreover, Alvarus Nunnus a Spaniard, and learned Cosmographer, and Jacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into those parts, and sayled 900 miles upon the Northeast coastes of America doe in part confirme the same.

6 Likewise Hieronymus Fracastorius, a learned Italian, and travailer in the North parts of the same land.

7 Also Jaques Cartier having done the like, heard say at Hoche-laga in Nova Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

Furthermore, Sebastian Cabota by his personal experience and travel hath set foorth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queens Majesties privie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discovery by king Henrie the seventh, and entred the same fret: affirming that he sayled very farre Westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador the eleventh of June, untill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, and finding the Seas still open, sayd, that he might, and would have gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene.

Now as these mens experience hath proved some part of this



MAP OF THE WORLD, BY ORTELIUS, A.D. 1569



passage: so the chapter following shal put you in full assurance of the rest, by their experiences which have passed through every part thereof.

*To proove by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.*

#### CHAPTER IV

THE diversitie betwene brute beastes and men, or betweene the wise and the simple is, that the one judgeth by sense onely, and gathereth no surety of any thing that he hath not seene, felt, heard, tasted, or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I have added proofes of both sorts, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

1 First, as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name of *Fretum trium fratrum*.

2 Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certaine Indians driven by tempest, upon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Suevia, unto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France.

3 And Plinie upon the same sayth, that it is no marvell though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a navigable passage that way, through which those Indians came.

4 And for the better prooffe that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to prove my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driven through the North Seas from India, upon the coastes of Germany, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of marchandize.

5 Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160 there came certaine other Indians upon the coast of Germanie.

6 Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in

the time of the Germane Emperours there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, upon the coast of the sayd countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly have come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

*To proove that these Indians aforenamed came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrike, or America.*

## CHAPTER V

FIRST, they could not come from the Southeast by the Cape de bona Sperança, because the roughnes of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greatest armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could live in those outrageous seas without shipwracke (being a vessel of very small burden) and have conducted themselves to the place aforesayd, being men unexpert in the Arte of navigation.

2 Also, it appeareth plainly that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Afrike aforesayd, to those parts of Europe, because the winds doe (for the most part) blow there Easterly off from the shore, and the current running that way in like sort, should have driven them Westward upon some part of America: for such winds and tides could never have led them from thence to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they have come from any of the countries aforesayd, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilful mariners to have conducted them such like courses as were necessary to performe such a voiage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driven to the West (as they must have bene, comming that way) then they should have perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not having any place (once leaving the coast of Afrike) untill they came to America, nor from America untill they arrived upon some part of Europe, or the Islands adjoyning to it, to have refreshed themselves.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might have recovered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt have strickn upon some other part of

Europe before their arrivall their, as the Isles of the Açores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would have departed undiscovered of the inhabitants: but there was never found in those dayes any such ship or men but only upon the coasts of Germanie, where they have bene sundry times and in sundry ages cast aland: neither is it like that they would have committed themselves againe to sea, if they had so arrived, not knowing where they were, nor whither to have gone.

5 And by the Southwest it is impossible, because the current aforesayd which cōmeth from the East, striketh with such force upon the fret of Magellen, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possibly a Canoa, with such unskilfull mariners) can come into our Western Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught us.

6 And further, to proove that these people so arriving upon the coast of Germany, were Indians, and not inhabitors of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifest, because the natives both of Africa and America neither had, or have at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither mastes nor sailes, (except onely upon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships) but do carie themselves from place to place neere the shore by the ore onely.

*To proove that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow navigable passage that way.*

## CHAPTER VI

IT is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelffie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be navigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling under Torrida Zona, could endure the injurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80 degrees, under which ele-

vation the passage by the Northeast cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whose Summer is to them an extreme Winter) have bene stroken to death with the cold dampes of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishap, and yet the aire in such like Elevation is alwaies cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole wil so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoise or strike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught us) without the use whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Also, the aire is so darkened with continuall mists and fogs so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such elevation doth very suddenly vary, which things must of force have bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

6 Moreover, all baies, gulfes, and rivers doe receive their increase upon the flood, sensibly to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any main sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other knowen havens or rivers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receive their increase upon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West; as M. Jenkinson affirmed unto me: and therfore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiving increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean by the East.

7 Moreover, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut up from the maine sea (as in all those above mentioned) the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which proveth but small continuance of that Sea toward the East.

8 Also, the further yee goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West only, seeing Every thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then must it be like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and elevation.

And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the river Ob, and such like fresshets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the uppermost parts thereof by the rivers Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that elevation, of like it should be alwaies frozen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) because the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the uppermost part, and the extreme coldnesse of the earth in the bottome, the sea there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidentall coldnesse doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not having his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angles, it can never be dissolved after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidental reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that elevation, to prevaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolved, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the sunne above their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a navigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to live.

11 Further, the ice being once broken, it must of force so drive with the windes and tides, that no ship can saile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subject to danger through the great Islands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the sailers great danger) farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

12 And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should be any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it should cut off Cir-emissi, and Turbi Tartari, with Vzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are knowen to be adjoyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorowe passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can Navigate in so shallow a Sea: and ships of small burden are very unfit and unprofitable, especially towards the blustering North to performe such a voyage.

*To proove that the Indians aforenamed, came only by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage by experience.*

## CHAPTER VII

IT is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is unlikely that they should come, either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage having bene already so many wayes proved, by disprooving of the others, &c. I shall the lesse neede in this place, to use many words otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, having these many reasons to leade me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kind of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not having any use of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, having so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, because the coast whereon they were driven, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally drive a ship to an opposite point whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do utterly want, and therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then must they (as aforesaid) have fallen upon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then upon the coasts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then upon the coasts of Ceremissi, Tartarij, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and upon these coasts (as aforesaid) they have never bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could never have come without shipwracke upon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken upon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discovery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Navigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Havens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentiful.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most part of those countries, by which they must have come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would have devoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainly appeareth that those Indians (which as you have heard in sundry ages were driven by tempest upon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreover, the passage is certainly proved by a Navigation that a Portugall made, who passed through this fret, giving name to a Promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adjoyning unto Polisacus fluvius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Salvaterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568, who affirmed the Northwest passage from us to Cataia, constantly to be beleevied in America navigable. And further said in the presence of sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest passage, and shewed Salvaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and travell in that voyage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (as he returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certainty) such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowne to any nation: For that (said the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Salvaterra reported) was the greatest Discoverer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Salvaterra being perswaded of this passage by the frier Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie me in this Discovery, which of like he would not have done if he had stood in doubt thereof.

And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so

least it might be objected that these things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past) might serue litle to proove this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then utterly unknowen: to remoove this doubt, let this suffice: That Aristotle (who was 300 yeeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berosus (who lived 330 yeres before Christ) hat these words, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester be these wordes, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Assuerus lived 580 yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where he speaketh of the conquests of Alexander) mentioneth India. Also, Arianus, Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India under his government. All which assureth us, that both India and Indians were knowen in those dayes.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not only assure ourselves of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is navigable both to come and go, as hath bene proved in part and in all, by the experience of divers, as Sebastian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren above named, the Indians, and Urdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithstanding all this, there be some that have a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my severall answeres ensue in the chapter following.

*Certaine reasons alleaged for the prooving of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Majestie, and certaine Lords of the Counsell, by Master Anthonie Jenkinson, with my severall answeres then used to the same.*

### CHAPTER VIII

BECAUSE you may understand as well those things alleaged against me, as what doth serve for my purpose, I have here added the reasons of Master Anthony Jenkinson a worthy gentleman, and a great traveller, who conceived a better hope of the passage to Cataia from us, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

He first said that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest according to mine opinion: but

assured he was, that there might be found a navigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeavoured to proove three wayes.

The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he sayled very farre towards the Southeast, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and utterly ignorant in the Arte of Navigation, not knowing the use of the Sea Card, Compasse or Starre, which he confessed to be true: and therefore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place unknown from the sight of the land.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the shore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceived by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fisherman through simplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which proove (under correction) giveth small assurance of a Navigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the world. For that he judged by the eye onely, seeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

His second reason is, that there was an Unicornes horne found upon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (said he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Unicorne in any part of Asia, saving in India and Cataia: which reason (in my simple judgement) forceth as litle.

First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Unicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could have driven it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

Also the tides running too and fro, would have driven it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called *Asinus Indicus* (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Unicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts therunto adjoyning, as in Lappia, Norvegia, Finmarke, &c. as *Jacobus Zieglerus* writeth in his historie of *Scandia*.

And as Albertus saith, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Unicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Unicornes horne, yea, or no.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Maeotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Graecia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenius, and divers others that have had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the river Ob, &c.

Now as I have here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to proove a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my severall answeres thereunto: so will I leave it to your judgement, to hope or dispaire of either at your pleasure.

*How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.*

## CHAPTER IX

FIRST, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not give you a marvelous speedie and luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to live so long comfortlesse, voide of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or understanding may judge.

2 Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccae are neerer unto us by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two five parts, which is almost by the halfe.

3 Also we may have by the West a yeerely returne, it being at all times navigable, whereas you have but 4 moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such elevation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without divers wintrings by the way, having no havens in any temperate climate to harbour

in there: for it is as much as we can well saile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moscovia, and returne in the navigable season of the yeere, and from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartari, which stande at 80 degrees of the Septentrionall latitude, it is at the least 400 leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you have doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a navigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conveniently, until you come to 60 degrees, and to take up one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterly windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must have by the Northeast sundry windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your journey should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so neere the Pole. As we are taught by sir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreover, it is very doubtfull, whether we should long enjoy that trade by the Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities thereof once knowne to the Moscovite, what privilege so ever hee hath granted, seeing pollicy with the masse of excessive gaine, to the inriching (so greatly) of himselfe and all his dominions would perswade him to presume the same, having so great opportunitie to utter the commodities of those countries by the Narve.

But by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince living, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Also the Queenes Majesties dominions are neerer the Northwest passage then any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessitie succour themselves and their ships upon some part of the same, if any tempestuous weather should happen.

Further, no princes navie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Majesties navie, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffike insuing upon this discoverie, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all these things were, as we have heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adjoyning are briefly declared.

*What commodities would ensue, this passage once discovered.*

## CHAPTER X

FIRST, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse the wealth of all the East parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great advancement to our countrey, a wonderfull enriching to our prince, and an unspeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the shortnesse of the voyage, we should be able to sell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we should share with the Portugall in the East, and the Spaniard in the West, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend us.

3 Also we might sayle to divers very rich countreys, both civill and others, out of both their jurisdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, silver, precious stones, cloth of gold, silkes, all manner of spices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their journies, cannot well attaine unto.

4 Also we might inhabite some part of those countreyes, and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreover, we might from all the aforesaid places have a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our staple some convenient place of America, about Sierra Nevada, or some other part, whereas it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage.

6 Beside uttering of our countrey commodities, which the In-

dians, &c. much esteeme: as appeareth in Hester, where the pompe is expressed of the great king of India. Assuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure: not mentioning either velvets, silkes, cloth of gold, cloth of silver, or such like, being in those countreyes most plentifull: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would have the clothes of this our countrey, so that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme ever had: and that without depending either upon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Also, here we shall increase both our ships and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8 And also have occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to have our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discovery, without injury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their used trades, whereby they might take any just occasion of offence.

Thus have I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer judge me fantasticke in this matter: seeing I have conceived no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discovery hath bene divers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted, and performed.

It hath bene offered by Stephan Gomes unto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Ullua testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would have set him forth in it (as the story mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres had not caused him to surcease the same.

And the king of Portugall fearing least the Emperour would have persevered in this his enterprise, gave him to leave the matter unattempted, the summe of 350,000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not have given to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

It hath bene attempted by Sebastian Cabota in the time of king Henry the seventh, by Corterialis the Portugal, and Scolmus the Dane.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians afore-said, and by Urdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

Also divers have offered the like unto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to have discovered the same: The discoverers spending and consuming their victuals in searching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken at the after commers.

So that the right way may now easily be found out in short time: and that with litle jeopardie and lesse expences.

For America is discovered so farre towards the North as Cape Frio, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adjoyning is knowen to stand but at 72 degrees. So that wee have but 10 degrees to saile North and South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not have sit out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselves all that trade they now use, and feare to deale in this discovery, least the Queenes Majestie having so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enjoy the whole traffique to herselfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseeing, have commanded that no pilot of theirs upon paine of death, should seeke to discover to the North-west, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow passage that way by the Northwest.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to proove that there were such Islands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discovered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy travell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Islands set foorth unto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries upon the same) from 942 yeeres before Christ, untill that day.

Moreover, Columbus himselfe had neither seene America nor any other of the Islands about it, neither, understood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them, but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which should have taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to deprive Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but rove at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by conjectures onely.

And albiet myselfe have not seene this passage nor any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet have I both the report, relation, and authoritie of divers most credible men, which have both seene and passed through some and every part of this discovery, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, and indifferently weighed together, with the wonderfull commodities which this discovery may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needes conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and divers other learned men, who said, that this discovery hath bene reserved for some noble prince or worthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiring you to accept in good part this briefe and simple discourse, written in haste, which if I may perceive that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart unto you a large discourse, which I have written onely of this discovery.

And further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I wil at leasure make you partaker of another simple discourse of navigation, wherein I have not a litle travelled, to make my selfe as sufficient to bring these things to effect, as I have bene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I have devised to amend the errors of usuall sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of one like bignes.

And have also devised therein a Spherical instrument, with a compasse of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to picke the sea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discovery, to know at the

first entring of any fret whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre soever the sea stretcheth itself into the land.

Desiring you hereafter never to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idleness we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for ever.

And therefore to give me leave without offence, alwayes to live and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to live at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countreys service, and his owne honour: seeing death is inevitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno.

*Certaine other reasons, or arguments to proove a passage by the North-west, learnedly written by M. Richard Willes Gentleman.*

FOURE famous wayes there be spoken of to those fruitfull and wealthie islands, which wee doe usually call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly travelled for riches therein growing. These Islands, although they stand East from the Meridian, distant almost halfe the length of the worlde, in extreme heate, under the Equinoctiall line, possessed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully sought in respect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerously brought home unto us. Our neighbours I call the Portugalls in comparison of the Molucchians for neerenesse unto us, for like situation Westward as we have, for their usuall trade with us, for that the farre Southeasterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well understood of all men, and the Southeasterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good Hope more spoken of, better knowne and travelled, then that it may seeme needefull to discourse thereof any further.

The second way lyeth Southwest, betweene the West India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow straight where Magellan first of all men that ever we doe read of, passed these latter yeeres, leaving thereunto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spaniardes would commodiously take, for that it lyeth neere unto their dominions there, could the Easterne

current and levant windes as easily suffer them to returne, as speedily therewith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impossibility of striving against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is litle or nothing used, although it be very well knowne.

The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowned knight sir Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approved by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius under the 80 degree North, by the unlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwayes clad with yce and snow, or at the least continually pestered therewith, if happily it be at any time dissolved: besides bayes and shelfes, the water waxing more shallow toward the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the cold clime, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the uncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, five moneths long.

A fourth way to go unto these aforesaid happy Islands Moluccae sir Humphrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterprise of itselfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserve high praise, and whensoever it shal be finished, the fruits thereof cannot be smal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, and fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voiage not thoroughly knowne, and therefore gainesaid by many, after this maner.

First, who can assure us of any passage rather by the Northwest, then by the Northeast? doe not both wayes lye in equall distance from the North Pole? Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent under like elevation? Is not the Ocean sea beyond America farther distant from our Meridian by 30 or 40 degrees West, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eastward, if Ortelius generall Carde of the world be true: In the Northeast that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happe by the Northwest? Who hath gone for triall sake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayo?

If you seeke the advise herein of such as make profession in Cosmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest child-

ren, will answer by their mappes with a negative, concluding most of the Sea within the land, and making an ende of the world Northward, neere the 63 degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly florished, was received in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: *tibi serviat ultima Thyle*, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreme part of the world habitable toward the North. Joseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germaine, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, have continued the West Indies land, even to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way.

The same doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his sea Carde, neverthesse doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, have opened a gulfe betwixt the West Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be travelled for the causes in the first objection alledged, or cleane shut up from us in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Thirdly, the greatest favourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any such passage be, it lieth subject unto yce and snow for the most part of the yeere, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolved the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the sunne maketh a certaine season in those parts, how shall it be possible for so weake a vessel as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole Ilands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche side, and at the mouth of that gulfe, issuing downe furiously from the north, and safely to passe, when whole mountaines of yce and snow shall be tumbled downe upon her?

Well, graunt the West Indies not to continue continent unto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulfe lie neerer us then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61 and 64 degrees north, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our countryman Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee have free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake:

You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moscovia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no passage by Sea through Moscovia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforesaid Mediterranean sea, we saile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and spices from the Moluccaes up the Red sea or Arabian gulph to Sues, scarcely three dayes journey from the aforesayd haven: yet have wee no way by sea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Isthmos or litle straight of land betweene the two seas. In like maner although the Northerne passage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the West Ocean beyond America, usually called Mar del Zur, knowne to be open at 40 degrees elevation from the Island Japan, yea three hundred leagues Northerly above Japan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow passage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforesaid it falleth out, Asia and America there being joyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion seeme altogether frivolous unto any one that diligently peruseth our Cosmographers doings. Josephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemispheres of the world, but also in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the same opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceive: as though the West Indies were part of Asia. Which sentence well agreeth with that old conclusion in the Schooles: *Quicquid praeter Africam aut Europam est, Asia est*, Whatsoever land doeth neither apperceive unto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Asia.

Furthermore it were to small purpose to make so long, so painefull, so doubtfull a voyage by such a new found way, if in Cathayo you should neither bee suffered to land for silkes and silver, nor able to fetch the Molucca spices and pearle for piracie in those Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabitants under a great penaltie to let in any stranger into those countryes, shall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there imprisoned with other Portugals: as also in the Japonish letters, how for that cause the worthy traveller Xavierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great summe of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie used in those Seas no man can be ignorant of, that listeth to reade the Japonish and East Indian historie.

Finally, all this great labour would be lost, all these charges spent in vaine, if in the ende our travellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring safely home into their owne native countrey that wealth and riches, which they in forrein regions with adventure of goods, and danger of their lives have sought for. By the Northeast there is no way, the Southeast passage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of those Seas. At y<sup>e</sup> Southwest Magellans experience hath partly taught us, and partly we are persuaded by reason, how the Easterne current striketh so furiously on that straight, and falleth with such force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ship can returne that way into our West Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truely it is, then wee may say that the aforesayd Easterne current or levant course of waters continually following after the heavenly motions, looseth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other current from out of the Northeast, in the passage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of necessity caryed: having none other way to maintaine it selfe in circular motion, and consequently the force and fury thereof to be no lesse in the straight of Anian, where it striketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any such straight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both straights being of like bredth: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for navigation in that region we doe finde precisely set downe.

Nevertheless to approove that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northwest from out of Europe, we have experience, namely of three brethren that went that journey, as Gemma Frisius recordeth, and left a name unto that straight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that passed this straight, of whom Master Frobisher speaketh, that was imprisoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbone, to verifie the olde Spanish proverbe, I suffer for doing well. Likewise Andrew Urdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde (for he was a great Discoverer) made by his owne experience and travell in that voyage, hath bene seene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Now if the observation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we have in all faculties, as the best Philosophers that ever were doe affirme: truely the voyage of these aforesayd travellers that have

one out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northwest, do most evidently conclude that way to be navigable, and that passage free. So much the more we are so to thinke, for that the first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith, is the history of travell, that is, reports made by travellers skilful in Geometrie and Astronomie, of all such things in their journeyes to Geographie doe belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now answer to those arguments that seemed to make against this former conclusion.

The first objection is of no force, that generall table of the world set forth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly skilleth not, being unskilfully drawn for that point: as manifestly it may appeare unto any one that conferreth the same with Gemma Frisius his universall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebastian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily referred in this case before all Mercator and Ortelius other doings: for that Cabota was not onely a skilful Sea man, but a long traveller, and such a one as entred personally that straight, sent by king Henry the seventh to make this aforesayd Discoverie, as in his owne discourse of navigation you may reade in his carde drawn with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northwesterne straight lyeth neere the 318 Meridian, betweene 61 and 64 degrees in the elevation, continuing the same bredth about 10 degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, untill it come under the tropicke of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur, at the least 18 degrees more in bredth there, then it was where it first began: otherwise I could as well imagine this passage to be more unlikely then the voyage to Moscovia, and more impossible then it for the farre situation and continuance thereof in the frostie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very possible and most likely in comparison thereof, for that it either coasteth so farre North as the Moscovian passage doeth, either is this straight so long as that, before it bow downe Southerly wardes the Sunne againe.

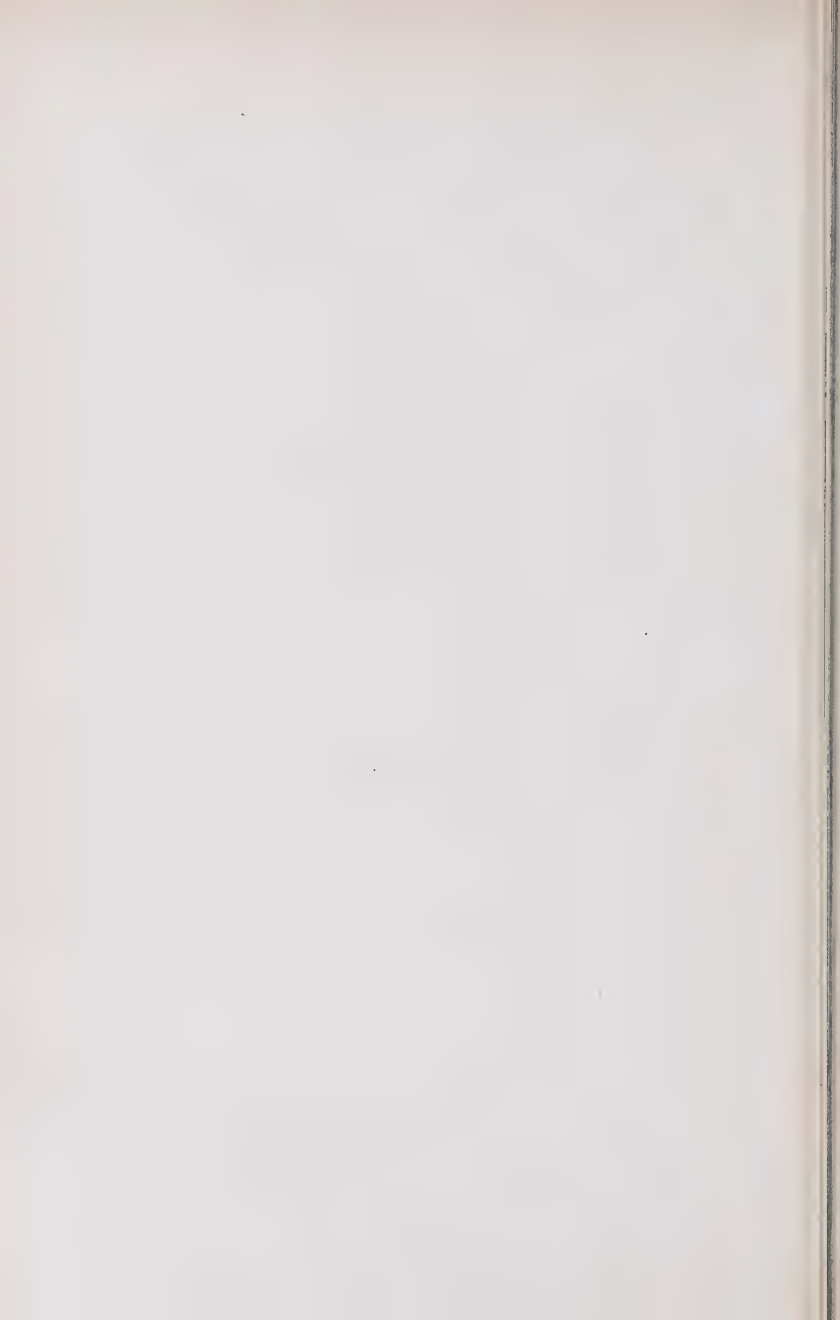
The second argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was above sixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all passages Northward from the elevation of 63 degrees: he knewe no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet have the Portugals ended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and travelled to Japan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia and

America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the sixt discovered the Moscovian passage farther North then Thyle, and shewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland and Norway: the like our Northwesterne travellers have done, declaring by their navigation that way, the ignorance of all Cosmographers that either doe joyne Groenland with America, or continue the West Indies with that frosty region under the north pole. As for Virgil he sang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone.

Quarum quae media est, non est habitabilis aestu. Imagining, as most men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether dishabited for heat, though presently wee know many famous and worthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Island of S. Thomas neere Æthiopia, and the wealthy Islands for the which chiefly all these voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited even under the equinoctiall line.

To answere the third objection, besides Cabota and all other travellers navigations, the onely credit of M. Frobisher may suffice, who lately through all these Islands of ice, and mountaines of snow, passed that way, even beyond the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in some places though he drewe one inch thicke ice, as he returning in August did, yet came he home safely againe.

§ ii. SIR MARTIN FROBISHER'S  
*SECOND VOYAGE TO THE NORTH-WEST*



## *Introductory Note.*

MARTIN FROBISHER, of Welsh descent, was born in the village of Normanton in the West Riding of Yorkshire about the year 1535. Brought up in London, he took part in his first voyage (to Guinea) in 1554, and thereafter for the next ten years seems to have taken an active part in the annual trading expeditions sent out to the African coast and the Levant by Sir John Lock (or Lok). During this period he also occupied himself as a pirate in home waters, and was put in prison for it. Some years later he was employed by the Government on various tasks, such as patrol work off the Irish coast in 1576, which brought him to the notice of the Court and particularly Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The famous *Discourse* of the latter, written and circulated in manuscript in 1566, though not published until 1576, evidently made a deep impression upon Frobisher and also upon the Court. Elizabeth's insistence accordingly compelled the Muscovy Company in 1575 to grant a licence to Frobisher and his associates to discover a north-west route to Cathay. The three ensuing voyages of 1576, 1577, and 1578 have already been noticed.<sup>1</sup> The narrative of the second attempt, which is reproduced below, not only represents the characteristics of these gold-hunters, but also the nature of the difficulties encountered by all voyagers to the North-West, whether they sought for immediate treasure or for the more distant goal of China. As a result of the complete failure (from a pecuniary point of view) of the third voyage, Isobel Frobisher was constrained to write to Walsingham telling him that she and her children were starving in a room at Hampstead, and asking for aid to recover a debt due to her husband, who had spent everything and 'put them to the wide world to shift'. Frobisher, however, was restored to favour and in 1580 was given command of one of Her Majesty's ships, the *Foresight*. Five years later he sailed as Drake's vice-admiral to the West Indies and distinguished himself at Carthage. In reward for his services against the Armada in 1588, he was knighted at sea by Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral. Subsequent service at sea against Spain culminated in the attempt of 1594 to relieve Brest and Crozon in conjunction with Sir John Norris. It was on this occasion that he

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

received a wound in the hip from which he died soon after reaching Plymouth in January 1595. Frobisher's lion-like courage, doggedness, and skill are somewhat shadowed by uncontrollable temper, duplicity, and a certain coarseness of fibre. None the less he was one of the most important of the great school of Elizabethan pioneers.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF  
MASTER MARTIN FROBISHER

*Made to the West and Northwest Regions, in the yeere 1577 with  
a description of the Countrey, and people:*

*Written by MASTER DIONISE SETTLE.<sup>1</sup>*

ON Whitsunday, being the sixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577, Captaine Frobisher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Majesties ships, called The Aide, of nine score tunnes, or thereabouts: and two other little Barkes likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Master Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Master Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admirals was Captaine, accompanied with seven score Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, well furnished with victuals, and other provision neccessarie for one halfe yeere, on this his second voyage, for the further discovering of the passage to Cathay, and other Countreys, thereunto adjacent, by West and Northwest navigations: which passage or way, is supposed to bee on the North and Northwest part of America: and the said America to be an Island invironed with the sea, where through our Merchants may have course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northernmost parts of Europe, to those Orientall coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that do or shall frequent the same. Our said Captaine and General of this present voyage and company having the yeere before, with two little pinnesses, to his great danger, and no small commendations, given a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministred (to the benefite of his Prince, and native Countrey) to adventure himselfe further therein. As for this second voyage, it seemeth sufficient, that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and Countreys, which in his first voyage the yeere before he had found out.

Upon which considerations, the day and yeere before expressed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an ac-

<sup>1</sup> *Hakluyt*, vol. iii, p. 32.

complishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoised up sailes, and with a merrie wind the 7 of June we arrived at the Islands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30 subject and adjacent to Scotland, where we made provision of fresh water; in the doing whereof our Generall licensed the Gentlemen and souldiers for their recreation, to goe on shore. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with shrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perswasions we reclaimed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or some other enemies, that moove them to such sudden feare. Their houses are very simply builded with Pibble stone, without any chimneys, the fire being made in the midst thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and the cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of civilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes, and Cowshards. They have corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fish, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dresse their meat very filthily, and eate it without salt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fisher men of England can better declare the dispositions of those people then I: wherefore I remit other their usages to their reports, as yeerely repaire thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

We departed herehence the 8 of June, and followed our course betweene West and Northwest, untill the 4 of July: all which time we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe away the time: a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in unknowen seas, and long navigations, especially, when both the winds and raging surges do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those parts not 6 weekes, while the sunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raised to 70 or 80 degrees, it continueth much longer.

All along these seas, after we were sixe dayes sailing from Orkney, we met floting in the sea, great Firre trees, which as we judged, were with the furie of great floods rooted up, and so driven into the sea. Island<sup>1</sup> hath almost no other wood nor fuell, but such as they

<sup>1</sup> Iceland.

take up upon their coastes. It seemeth, that these trees are driven from some part of the New found land, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.

The 4 of July we came within the making of Frisland, From this shoare 10 or 12 leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, shewing above the sea, 30 or 40 fathoms, and as we supposed fast on ground, where with our lead we could scarce sound the bottome for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, and pleasant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of June and July, nothing inferior to our untemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and especially in a place or Parallele, where the Pole is not elevate above 61 degrees: at which height other Countreys more to the North, yea unto 70 degrees, shew themselves more temperate then this doth.

All along this coast yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke, and so defendeth the Countrey, that those that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3 dayes together attempted with the ship boate to have gone on shoare, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it untill a more convenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountaines covered with snow, except in such places, where through the steepenes of the mountaines of force it must needs fall. Foure dayes coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birds, whiche we judged to have lost the shore, by reason of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much subject unto, came flying into our ships, which causeth us to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh shew or signification.

From hence we departed the eight of July: and the 16 of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yeere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Island as we judge, lying neere the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island called Halles Isle, after the name of the Master of the ship, neere adjacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. Betweene the which two Islands there is a large entrance or streight, called Frobishers streight, after the name of our Generall, the firste finder thereof.

This said streight is supposed to have passage into the sea of Sur, which I leave unknown as yet.

It seemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should have more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or untemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantity of yce, which commeth floting from this coast, even unto Friseland, causing that Countrey to seeme more untemperate then others, much more Northerly then the same.

I cannot judge that any temperature under the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (considering that the Sunnes elevation surmounteth not 23 degrees and 30 minuts) can have power to dissolve such monstrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the helpe of the said day of halfe a yee.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooved us from that opinion.

At our first comming, the streights seemed to be shut up with a long mure of yce, which gave no litle cause of discomfort unto us all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two little Pinnesses prepared of purpose, passed twise thorow them to the East shore, and the Ilands thereunto adjacent: and the ship, with the two Barks lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the yce.

Whilest he was searching the Countrey neere the shoare, some of the people of the Countrey shewed themselves leaping and dauncing, with strange shrikes and cries, which gave no litle admiration to our men. Our Generall desirous to allure them unto him by faire meanes, caused knives, and other things to be profered unto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke up, leaving some thing of theirs to countervail the same. At the length two of them leaving their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to

they, and went unto them: who after certain dumb signes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes upon them, but they deliverly escaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely upon them, (not respecting the rest of our companie which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt divers of them: we tooke the one, and the other escaped.

Whilest our Generall was busied in searching the Countrey, and those Islands adjacent on the Eastshoare, the ship and barkes having great care, not to put farre into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the yce, which was so monstrous, that even the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient to have shivered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care upon the infirmitie of man) had not provided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well discerne to flee from such imminent dangers, which we avoyded with 14 Bourdes in one watch the space of 4 houres. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous Islands of yce, we should have lost our Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on the shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Master Gunner, Master Jackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Mates, men expert both in navigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearsed, before we would with our owne safetie, runne into the seas, to the destruction of our sayd Generall, and his company.

The day following, being the 19 of Julie, our captaine returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowels of those barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all satisfied.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the streights, the Northwest and West winds dispersed the yce into the sea, and made us a large entrance into the streights, so that without any impediment, on the 19 of Julie we entred them, and the 20 hereof, our Generall and Master with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shoare, and found out a faire Harborough for the ship and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Masters mate, Jackmans sound, and brought the ship, barkes and all their company to safe anker, except one man, which died by Gods visitation.

At our first arrivall, after the ship rode at anker, our generall, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entred the lande, having speciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee should all with one voyce, kneeling upon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our safe arrivall: secondly beseech him, that it would please his divine Majestie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the rest of our company in this order tooke possession of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Christian studie and endeavour, those barbarous people trained up in Paganisme, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer. With other words very apt to signifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and Countrey: whereby all suspicion of an undutifull subject, may credibly be judged to be utterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen and other deserve worthily herein, their due praise and commendation.

These things in this order accomplished, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne safegard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beast his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessarie affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Ensigne displaid, so farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped up stones on high mountaines, and other places in token of possession, as likewise to signifie unto such as hereafter may chance to arrive there, that possession is taken in the behalfe of some other Prince, by those who first found out the Countrey.

Who so maketh navigations to those Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious seas to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of yce; a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anker, to have continuall watch, with boats and men ready with halsers to knit fast unto such yce, as with the ebbe and flood were tossed to and fro in the harborough, and with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ship.

Our Generall certaine dayes searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answeere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two

little barks, and men sufficient to the East shore being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, soldiers, and sailers, untill such time as he either thought good to send or come for them.

The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether parkled, and glister in the Sunne like gold: so likewise doth the sand and in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Proverb: All is not gold that glistereth.

On this West shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horne streight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceive it follow, into the which some of our sailers putting spiders they presently died. I saw not the triall hereof, but it was reported unto me of a truth: by the vertue whereof we supposed it to be the sea Unicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ship and barks to anker in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himselfe satisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke aforesaid was Captaine, accompanied with our master and his Mate: who coasting along the West shore not farre from whence the ship rode, they perceived a faire harborough, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of Seale skins, unto which the Captaine, our said Master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: neverthesse they went to their tents, where leaving certaine trifles of ours, as glasses, bells, knives, and such like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs except one dogge. They did in like maner leave behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine lost the yere before, and in that peoples custody, might (if any of them were alive) be advertised of our presence and being there.

On the same day after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, under the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (unto whom in our Generall his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Beast, al the rest were obedient) went a shore, determining to see, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attaine to some knowledge of those men whom our Generall lost the yere before.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooved their tents further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driven from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. We parting our selves into two companies, and compassing a mountaine came suddenly upon them by land, who espying us, without any tarrying fled to their boates, leaving the most part of their oares behind them for haste, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinesses met them and drove them to shore: but if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to have chased them.

When they were landed they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiving themselves thus hurt, they desperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselves: which if they had not done, but had submitted themselves, or if by any meanes we could have taken them alive (being their enemies as they judged) we would both have saved them, and also have sought remedy to cure their wounds received at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiving they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death then otherwise to be saved by us: the rest perceiving their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom divers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a devill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were cloven footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her goe: the yong woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks sound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

Having this knowledge both of their fierceness and cruelty, and perceiving that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed our selves, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spoyle of the same: where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shooes of our men, whom we lost the yeere before: on nothing else unto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Their riches are not gold, silver or precious Drapery, but their

aid tents and boates, made of the skins of red Deare and Seale skins: also dogges like unto wolues, but for the most part black, with other rifles, more to be wondred at for their strangeness, then for any other commoditie needefull for our use.

Thus returning to our ship the 3 of August, we departed from the West shore supposed firme with America, after we had ankered here 13 dayes: and so the 4 thereof we came to our Generall on the East shore, and ankered in a faire Harborough named Anne Warwicks sound, unto which is annexed an Island both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warwicks sound and Isle.

In this Isle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to freight both the ship and barkes, with such stone or supposed gold minerall, as he judged to countervaille the charges of his first, and this his second navigation to these Countreys.

In the meane time of our abode here some of the countrey people came to shew themselves unto us, sundry times on the maine shore, neere adjacent to the said isle. Our Generall desirous to have some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perswaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens, that three of his five men were alive, and desired penne, ynck, and paper, and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we judged) bring those of our men which were living, with them.

They also made signes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, and how he was carried on mens shoulders, and a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse and stature.

With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was delivered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid upon the shore, and the partie gone away, they tooke up: which likewise they do when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they thinke will countervaille the same, and not coming neere together. It seemeth they have been used to this trade or traffique, with some other people adjoining, or not farre distant from their Countrey.

After 4 dayes some of them shewed themselves upon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our Generall very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Island, with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and

allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceive a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signes dismissed them and returned to his company.

An other time as our said Generall was coasting the Countrey with two little Pinnesses, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white skin allured us to them. Once again our Generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neere the shore whereon they were, we might perceive a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, and those 3 in sight labouring by al meanes possible that some would come on land: and perceiving we made no hast by words nor friendly signes, which they used by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but 3 in sight, they sought further means to provoke us thereunto. One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we tooke up with the Boate hooke, as necessary victuals for the relieving of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceived themselves deceived of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full shew of their craftie natures, and subtile sleights, to the intent thereby to have intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himselfe impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficulty: and to cover hiscraft the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places where he seemed unable to passe, he tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leaving him (as it should seeme) all alone, who playing his counterfeit pageant very well, thought thereby to provoke some of us to come on shore, not fearing, but that one of us might make our party good with a lame man.

Our Generall having compassion of his impotency, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he caused a souldier to shoote at him with his Caleever, which grased before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliverly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, slings, and darts. Our Generall caused some caleevers to be shot off at them,

whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more feare of us.

This was all the answer for this time we could have of our men, for of our Generals letter. Their crafty dealing at these three severall times being thus manifest unto us, may plainly shew their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We judged that they used these stratagemes, thereby to have caught some of us, for the delivering of the man, woman, and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much unlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his living.

They weare their haire something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women weare their haire long and knit up with two loupes, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred upon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, checkes, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eat their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eat yce, that is hard frosen, as pleasant as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

If they for necessities sake stand in need of the premisses, such asse as the countrey yeeldeth they plucke up and eate, not deintily, but salletwise to allure their stomacks to appetite: but for necessities ke without either salt, oiles or washing, like brute beasts devouring the same. They neither use table, stoole, or table cloth for comlines; but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their knives in like sort, they use their tongues as apt instruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

They frank or keepe certaine dogs not much unlike Wolves, which they yoke together, as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or sledge: and so carry their necessities over the yce and snow from place to place: as the captive, whom we have, made perfect signes. And when those dogs are not apt for the same use: or when with hunger they are constrained for lacke of other victuals, they eat them: so that they are as needfull for them in respect of their bignes, as our oxen are for us.

They apparell themselves in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other to defend them from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they give when they thinke to gratifie any friendship shewed unto them: a great signe of friendship with them. The men have them not so wide as the women.

The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the wast to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legges they weare hose of leather, with the furre side inward two or three paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose they put their knives, needles, and other things needful to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose, and so in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dresse their skinnnes very soft and souple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre side inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they have none but the said skinnnes.

Those beasts, fishes, and fowles, which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houses, bedding, hose, shooes, threed, and sailes for their boates, with many other necessities whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents made of Seale skins, pitched up with 4 Firre quarters foure square meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinewes, and laid thereupon: they are so pitched up, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or against the Sunne.

They have other sorts of houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skinne layd over them, to with stand the raine, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much unlike an Ovens mouth, whereto I thinke they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and foule, and so leave them untill the next time they come thither again.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and slings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinewes, not glued too, but fast girded and tyed on. Their bowstrings are likewise sinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces noched with

bone, and ended with bone, with those two ends, and the wood in the midst, they passe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers the penne end being cut away, and the fethers layd upon the arrow with the broad side to the wood: inso-much that they seeme when they are tyed on, to have foure fethers. They have also three sorts of heads to those arrowes: one sort of stone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone,



Greenlanders with Canoes.

much like unto a stopt head, with a hooke on the same: the third sort of bone likewise made sharpe at both sides, and sharpe pointed. They are not made very fast but lightly tyed to, or else set in a noche, that upon small occasion the arrowes leave these heads behind them: and they are of small force, except they be very neere when they noote.

Their Darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore end and likewise in the midst: their proportions are not much unlike our toasting yrons, but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater

then the first aforesayd, with a long bone made sharpe on both sides not much unlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their most hurtfull weapon.

They have two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much unlike our wherries, wherein sixteene or twenty men may sit: they have for a sayle drest the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they sew together: the other boate is but for one man to sit and row in with one oare.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fouling are with these said weapons: but in what sort, or how they use them we have no perfect knowledge as yet.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparell, are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey seemeth to be infected with all: neither do I see any signe likely to performe the same.

Those houses or rather dennes which stand there, have no signe of footway, or any thing else troden, which is one of the chieftest tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they have sufficiently hunted and fished, they remove to other places: and when they have sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter stations or habitations. This conjecture do I make, for the infertility which I conjecture to be in that Countrey.

They have some yron whereof they make arrow heads, knives, and other little instruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very unapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

It seemeth that they have conversation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receive the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giveth a sound.

What knowledge they have of God, or what Idoll they adore, we have no perfect intelligence, I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or devourers of mans flesh then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell it never so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

There is no maner of creeping beast hurtfull, except some Spiders

(which as many affirme, are signes of great store of gold) and also certaintesting Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and itcheth very sore.

They make signes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

The Countreys on both sides the streights lye very high with rough stony mountaines, and great quantitie of snow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no grasse, except a little which is much like unto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turffes in. There is no wood at all. To be brieffe there is nothing fit or profitable for the use of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantity of Deere, whose skins are like unto Asses, there heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our parts or Countreys: their feete likewise are as great as our oxens, which we measured to be seven or eight ynches in breadth. There are also hares, wolves, fishing beares, and sea foule of sundry sorts.

As the Countrey is barren and unfertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fouling, with raw flesh and warme blood to satisfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monstrous mountaines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinarie meanes that one is separated from another, which is discordant from all other Quarries.

There are no rivers or running springs, but such as through the heate of the Sunne, with such water as descendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of snow do lie, are ingendred.

It argueth also that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is so frozen within, that that water which should have recourse within the same to maintaine springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters have their originall, as by experience is seene elsewhere. Such valleis as are capable to receive the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne descendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanisheth away, without any runnell above the earth, by which occasion or continuall standing of the said

water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or five fathoms within the ground for lacke of the said moisture, the earth (even in the very summer time) is frosen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can unknit them.

Also where the water in those valleis can have no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frosen: as by skarres that remaine thereof in Summer may easily be perceived: so that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolve the extremitie of cold that commeth in Winter.

Nevertheless I am assured that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters have recourse, and emptie themselves out of sight into the Sea, which through the extremitie of the frost are constrained to doe the same: by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs have their recourse, which is the only nutriment of golde and Minerals within the same.

There is much to be sayd of the commodities of these Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

The 24 of August after we had satisfied our minds with freight sufficient for our vessels, though not our covetous desires with such knowledge of the Countrey people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed therehence. The 17 of September we fell with the lands end of England, and so sailed to Milford Haven, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Haven to conduct the ship.

We lost our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one the 29 of August, the other the 31 of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homeward cast over borde with a surge of the Sea.

I Could declare unto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of such places and regions as we have bene at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tem-

pests and other accidents incident to Sea-faring men, which seeme not altogether strange, but I let them passe to their reports as men most apt to set forth and declare the same. I have also left the names of the Countreys on both the shores untouched, for lacke of understanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

Countreys new discovered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name given by the discoverers, then an uncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our generall named sundry Islands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of divers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one shore as also on the other.

#### END OF PART I



VI  
DRAKE



### *Introductory Note.*

FRANCIS DRAKE, according to local tradition, was born in the village of Crowndale near Tavistock, probably about the year 1540, though the exact date is uncertain. Virtually nothing has survived in the way of authentic information concerning the father, Edmund Drake, except that he was of an ancient Devon family, poor, and a Protestant who fled from the West country during the religious troubles of 1549-50, and obtained a chaplaincy at the navy yard at Gillingham. The young days of Francis are wrapped in a similar obscurity. He is said to have been apprenticed at an early age to the master of a small vessel, which was used partly as a pilot-boat and partly as a coasting trader. The promise shown by Francis so impressed the old man that when he died he bequeathed the barque to him. Drake's first appearance off the Spanish Main, where his name spread instant panic in later years, occurred in 1565-6 under Captain John Lovell. On this occasion he was given a foretaste of what Englishmen, who attempted to trade within the confines of the Spanish preserves, might expect. A more ambitious venture, which played an important part in converting Drake to lifelong enmity against Spain, was embarked upon in 1567. In that year a considerable trading fleet under his cousin, John Hawkins, set sail from Plymouth, Drake himself being in command of the *Judith*, a vessel of 50 tons. The treacherous destruction of the entire fleet, save the *Minion* and the *Judith* which just succeeded in getting clear, at the port of S. Juan de Uloa, inspired Drake with a fierce determination to break the monopolistic power of the Spaniards. At the same time it is to be remembered that on this occasion he committed a dishonourable act which was never afterwards entirely forgotten. That same night the *Judith*, with Drake in Command, 'forsook us', as Hawkins briefly reported, 'in our great misery'. No efforts on the part of admiring biographers can palliate what was, in truth, a base desertion.

From this point begins the series of offensive raids, which mount higher and higher in daring and effectiveness until the culmination is reached with the defeat of the Armada in 1588. Drake's two voyages to the West Indies in 1570 and 1571 paved the way for

the famous expedition in 1572 against Nombre de Dios, 'the treasure-house of the world'. That in its turn led to the greatest adventure of all, the encompassing of the world, which is described in the well-known narrative printed below. A recent writer has made out a strong case to show that the primary purpose of this voyage was not spoliation of the Spaniards, but the establishment of a regular trading connection with the East Indies.<sup>1</sup>

The early portion of this voyage is chiefly remarkable for the struggle between the combined forces of superstition and treachery and the personality of one man, gifted with a genius for leadership. When at last the crews learnt that their real destination was the Pacific via the Antarctic, all the immemorial legends of devils lurking in the Sea of Darkness to compass their eternal destruction were recalled in terror and dismay. Friction, too, developed between the 'gentlemen adventurers' and the seamen, an early example of the jealousy between land and sea officer which wrecked so many enterprises in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. In such an atmosphere of panic and discord the seeds of treachery sown by Thomas Doughty found many opportunities to germinate. It is very probable that Doughty had been secretly instructed by Lord Burghley who wished to avoid an immediate rupture with Spain,<sup>2</sup> to thwart this expedition which, if successful, would render war almost inevitable—as Drake intended that it should. As soon as the Cape de Verde Islands were reached, Doughty began to undermine the loyalty of the seamen, and when put in command of the Portuguese prize, captured off St. Iago, he appropriated certain articles for himself and then accused Thomas Drake of pilfering. Being then set aboard the *Pelican*, he did his utmost to take the command upon himself and to encourage revolt against Drake. As the fleet struggled southward down the coast of Brazil in the teeth of storms and bitter winds the tension increased until at last a crisis came. Unless Drake's authority was vindicated and Doughty's influence removed the expedition would break up in ignominy. At Magellan's Port Desire the offender was tried by his peers, found guilty and executed.

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins, The Time and the Man* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 390-5.

<sup>2</sup> Modern research tends to show that Burghley was at bottom as hostile to Spain as the rest, but wished to keep up an appearance of friendship in order to postpone the rupture as long as possible.

Doughty acted honestly according to his lights, and he died gallantly; but his conduct had made the death sentence a necessity.<sup>1</sup> This act, together with the cancellation of every officer's commission until he humbly submitted to Drake's authority, completely restored good discipline for the remainder of the voyage.

After battling through the Straits of Magellan against a storm which never abated its fury for fifty-three days, the *Golden Hind* found itself in the Pacific, and the sole remaining ship of the expedition. The merry journey up the west coast of South America, the sack of Valparaiso, the raid on Callao de Lima and the capture of the great treasure-galleon must be read in the original narrative to be properly appreciated. After a perfunctory attempt to find the North-West Passage, Drake struck west across the Pacific to the Celebes and thence to England by the Cape of Good Hope. His reception there and the effect of his exploit on subsequent events is well known. Until late in the seventeenth century the *Golden Hind* was preserved and visited by sight-seers at Deptford. When it was broken up, some of the few original timbers that remained were constituted into a chair, which is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. For his later doings on the Spanish Main, at Cadiz, against the Armada, and his death from fever off Puerto Bello in January 1596, the student must turn to the works of Drake's numerous biographers. He was twice married; first to Mary who died in 1583, and secondly to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir George Sydenham. Of neither had he any issue, the property passing to his youngest and only surviving brother, Thomas, his companion in most of the voyages. The descendants of Thomas Drake are still in occupation of the family estates.

Some attempt has already been made to indicate the importance of Sir Francis Drake in the development of British sea-power.<sup>2</sup> His character has been aptly summed up as that of 'a man of restless energy, cautious in preparation, prompt and sudden in execution; a man of masterful temper, careful of the lives and interests of his subordinates, but permitting no assumption of equality; impatient of

<sup>1</sup> The case was afterwards widely discussed in England. The fact that Drake's action was never formally questioned is strong evidence that the equity and legality of the sentence was generally recognized.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction above, pp. xxxviii-xl.

advice, intolerant of opposition, self-possessed, and self-sufficing; as fearless of responsibility as of an enemy; with the force of character to make himself obeyed, with the kindliness of disposition to make himself loved.’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Knox Laughton, in *Dictionary of National Biography* (Drake).

# THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

*Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios. Carefully Collected out of the notes of MASTER FRANCIS FLETCHER, Preacher in this employment and divers others his followers in the same.*<sup>1</sup>

## THE VOYAGE ABOUT THE WORLD

by SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

EVER since Almighty God commanded Adam to subdue the Earth, there have not wanted in all ages some heroicall spirits which, in obedience to that high mandate, either from manifest reason alluring them, or by secret instinct inforcing them thereunto, have expended their wealth, imployed their times, and adventured their persons, to finde out the true circuit thereof.

Of these, some have endeavoured to effect this their purpose by conclusion and consequence, drawne from the proportion of the higher circles to this nethermost globe, being the centre of the rest. Others, not contented with schoole points, and such demonstrations (for that a small errour in the beginning, growing in the progresse to a great inconvenience), have added thereunto their owne history and experience. All of them in reason have deserved great commendation of their owne ages, and purchased a just renowne with all posterity. For if a surveyer of some few Lordships, whereof the bounds and limits were before knowne, worthily deserve his reward, not onely for his travell, but for his skill also in measuring the whole and everie part thereof, how much more, above comparison, are their famous travells by all meanes possible to be eternized, who have bestowed their studies and indeavor to survey and measure this globe, almost unmeasurable? Neither is here that difference to be objected, which in private possessions is of value: *Whose land survey you?* forasmuch as the maine Ocean by right is the Lord's alone, and by nature left free for all men to deale withall, as very sufficient for all mens use, and large enough for all mens industry.

And therefore that valiant enterprise, accompanied with happy

<sup>1</sup> By Sir Francis Drake, the Admiral's nephew. Edited by W. S. W. Vaux, M.A., Hakluyt Society, Series 1, No. 16 (Lond. 1854).

successes, which that right rare and thrice worthy Captaine, *Francis Drake*, atcheived, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not onely overmatch the ancient Argonautes, but also outreacheth, in many respects, that noble mariner *Magellanus*, and by farre surpasseth his crowned victory. But hereof let posterity judge.

It shall for the present be deemed a sufficient discharge of duty to register the true and whole history of that his voyage, with as great indifferency of affection as a history doth require, and with the plaine evidence of truth, as it was left recorded by some of the chiefe, and divers other actors in that action.

The said Captaine *Francis Drake* having in a former voyage, in the yeares 72 and 73 (the description whereof is already imparted to the view of the world), had a sight, and onely a sight, of the South Atlantik, and thereupon either conceiving a new, or renewing a former desire, of sailing on the same, in an English bottom; he so cherished thenceforward, this his noble desire and resolution in himselfe, that notwithstanding he was hindered for some yeares, partly by secret envie at home, and partly by publique service for his Prince and countrie abroad (whereof Ireland under Walter, Earle of Essex, gives honorable testimonie), yet, against the yeare 1577, by gracious commission from his soveraigne, and with the helpe of divers friends adventurers, he had fitted himselfe with five ships.

1. The *Pellican*, admirall, burthen 100 tonnes, Captaine-generall *Francis Drake*.

2. The *Elizabeth*, vice-admirall, burthen 80 tonnes, Captaine *John Winter*.

3. The *Marigold*, a bark of 30 tonnes, Captaine *John Thomas*.

4. The *Swanne*, a fliboat of 50 tonnes, Captaine *John Chester*.

5. The *Christopher*, a pinnace of 15 tonnes, Captaine *Thomas Moone*.

These ships he mand with 164 able and sufficient men, and furnished them also with such plentiful provision of all things necessary, as so long and dangerous a voyage did seeme to require; and amongst the rest, with certaine pinnaces ready framed, but carried aboard in pieces, to be new set up in smoother water, when occasion served. Neither had he omitted to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him, expert musitians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging even to





the Cooke-roome being of pure silver), and divers shewes of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civilitie and magnificence of his native contrie might, amongst all nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired.

Being thus appointed, we set saile out of the Sound of Plimmouth, about 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, November 15, of the same yeare [1577], and running all that night Southwest, by the morning [Nov. 16] were come as farre as the Lizard, where meeting the wind at Southwest (quite contrarie to our intended course), we were forced, with our whole fleet, to put in to Falmouth.

The next day [Nov. 17], towards evening, there arose a storme, continuing all that night and the day following [18] (especially betweene 10 of the clocke in the forenoone, and 5 in the afternoone) with such violence, that though it were in a very good harbor, yet 2 of our ships, viz., the admirall (wherein our generall himself went) and the *Marigold*, were faine to cut their maine masts by board, and for the repairing of them and many other damages in the tempest sustained (as soone as the weather would give leave), to beare backe to Plimmouth againe, where wee all arrived the 13 day [Nov. 28] after our first departure thence.

Whence (having in few daies supplied all defects) with happier sayles we once more put to sea, *December 13, 1577.*

As soone as we were out of sight of land, our generall gave us occasion to conjecture in part whither he intended, both by the directing of his course and appointing the *Randevous* (if any should bee severed from the fleet) to be the Iland *Mogadore*. And so sailing with favorable windes, the first land that we had sight of was *Cape Cantine* in *Barbarie*, *December 25, Christmas day* in the morning. The shoare is faire white sand, and the inland contrie very high and mountainous, it lieth in 32 deg. 30 mi. north latitude, and so coasting from hence southward, about 18 leagues, we arrived the same day at *Mogadore*, the Iland before named.

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[After running down the African coast as far as Cape Blanc, and capturing some half-dozen prizes on the way, the expedition put into the Cape Verde Islands for water and provisions. It was here that Doughty began to intrigue against Drake's authority. As soon as the prizes had been disposed of and re-organisation had been com-

pleted, the course was laid for the Brazilian coast and the River Plate.]

Passing thus, in beholding the most excellent works of the eternal God in the seas, as if we had beene in a garden of pleasure, *April 5*, we fell with the coast of Brasill, in 31 deg. 30 min., towards the pole Antartick, where the land is lowe neere the sea, but much higher within the countrie, having in depth not above 12 fathome, 3 leagues off from the shoare, and being descried by the inhabitants, we sawe great and huge fires made by them in sundry places, which order of making fires, though it be universall, as well among Christians as heathens, yet it is not likely that many doe use it to that end which the Brasilians doe: to wit, for a sacrifice to devills, whereat they intermixe many and divers ceremonies of conjurations, casting up great heapes of sand, to this end, that if any ships shall goe about to stay upon their coasts, their ministring spirits may make wrack of them, whereof the Portugalls by the losse of divers of their ships, have had often experience. In the reports of Magellanes voyage, it is said that this people pray to no maner of thing, but live only according to the instinct of nature; which if it were true, there should seeme to be a wonderfull alteration in them, since that time, being fallen from a simple and naturall creature to make Gods of Devills. But I am of the minde, that it was with them then, as now it is, onely they lacked then the like occasion, to put it in practise, which now they have; for then, they lived as a free people among themselves, but now, are in most miserable bondage and slavery, both in body, goods, wife, and children, and life itselfe to the Portugalls, whose hard and most cruell dealings amongst them forceth them to flie, into the more unfruitful parts of their owne land, rather there to starve, or at least live miserably with libertie, then to abide such intollerable bondage as they lay upon them, using the aforesaid practises with devills, both for a revenge against their oppressors and also for a defence, that they have no further entrance into the country. And supposing indeed that no other had used travell by sea in ships, but their enemies onely, they therefore used the same at our comming: notwithstanding, our God made their devilish intent of none effect; for albeit there lacked not (within the space of our falling with this coast) forcible stormes and tempests, yet did we sustaine no damage, but onely the seperating of our ships out of sight for a

few dayes. Here our Generall would have gone a shore, but we could finde no harbor in many leagues. And therefore coasting along the land, towards the south, *Aprill* 7, we had a violent storme for the space of 3 hours, with thunder, lightning, and raine in great abundance, accompanied with a vehement south winde directly against us, which caused a seperation of the *Christopher* (viz., the Caunter which wee tooke at Cape *Blanck*, in exchange for the *Christopher*, whose name she henceforward bore) from the rest of the fleet.

After this, we kept on our course, sometime to the sea ward, sometimes toward the shoare, but alwayes southward, as neere as we could, till *Aprill* 14, in the morning, at which time wee passed by Cape *Saint Mary*, which lies in 35 deg., neere the mouth of the river of Plate; and running within it about 6 or 7 leagues along by the maine, we came to anchor in a bay under another cape, which our Generall afterwards called Cape *Foy*, by reason that the second day after our anchoring here, the *Christopher* (whom we had lost in the former storme) came to us againe.

Among other cares which our Generall tooke in this action, next the maine care of effecting the voyage itselfe, these were the principall and chiefly subordinate: to keepe our whole fleet (as neere as possible we could) together; to get fresh water, which is of continuall use; and to refresh our men, wearied with long toyles at sea, as oft as we should find any opportunitie of effecting the same. And for these causes it was determined, and publique notice thereof given at our departure from the Ilands of Cape *Verde*, that the next *Randevous*, both for the recollecting of our navy (if it should be despersed) as also for watering and the like, should be the river of Plate; whither we were all to repaire with all the convenient speed that could be made, and to stay one for another, if it should happen that we could not arrive there all together; and the effect wee found answerable to our expectations, for here our severed ship (as hath beene declared) found us againe, and here we found those other helps also so much desired. The country hereabout is of a temperate and most sweet aire, very faire and pleasant to behold, and besides the exceeding fruitfulnessse of the soile, is stored with plentie of large and mightie deere.

Notwithstanding that in this first bay wee found sweet and wholesome water, even at pleasure, yet the same day [*Apr.* 16], after the arrivall of the Caunter, we removed some twelve leagues farther up

into another, where we found a long rocke, or rather Iland of rocks, not farre from the maine, making a commodious harbor, especially against a southerly wind: under them we anchored and rode till the 20. day at night, in which mean space we killed divers Seales, or sea wolves (as the Spaniard calls them), which resorted to these rocks in great abundance. They are good meat, and were an acceptable food to us for the present, and a good supply of our provision for the future. Hence, *April* 20, we waighed againe and sayled yet further up into the river, even till we found but three fadome depth, and that we roade with our ships in fresh water; but wee staid not there, nor in any other place of the river, because that the winds being strong, the shoales many, and no safe harbour found, we could not without our great danger so have done. Haling therefore to seaward againe, the 27 of the same moneth (after that we had spent a just fortnight in that river, to the great comfort of the whole fleet), we passed by the South side thereof into the maine. The land here lieth South, South-west, and North N.E., with shole water, some three or foure leagues off into the sea: its about 26 deg. 30 min. and somewhat better South latitude.

At our very first comming forth to sea againe, to wit, the same night [*April* 27], our fly boate, the *Swanne*, lost company of us: whereupon, though our Generall doubted nothing of her happy comming forward againe to the rest of the fleete, yet because it was grievous to have such often losses, and that it was his duty, as much as in him lay, to prevent all inconveniences besides that might grow; he determined to diminish the number of his ships, thereby to draw his men into lesse roome, that both the fewer ships might the better keepe company, and that they might also bee the better appointed with new and fresh supplies of provision and men, one to ease the burthen of another: especially for that he saw the coast (it drawing now toward Winter here) to bee subject to many and grievous stormes. And therefore he continued on his course, to find out a convenient harbour for that use; searching all that coast from 36 to 47 degrees (as diligently as contrary winds and sundry stormes would permit), and yet found none for the purpose. And in the mean time, viz., *May* 8, by another storme the Caunter also was once more severed frō us.

*May* 12 wee had sight of land, in 47 deg., where we were forced to come to anchor in such roade as we could find for the time. Nevertheless our Generall named the place *Cape Hope*; by reason of a

bay discovered within the headland, which seemed to promise a good and commodious harbour. But by reason of many rockes lying off from the place, wee durst not adventure with our ships into it without good and perfect discovery beforehand made.

[Three more weeks were spent in a weary struggle southward in the teeth of continual storms which scattered the squadron again and again. Five degrees north of the Straits the harbour, which Magellan had named Port Desire, was reached. Here the victualler was broken up as being no longer useful, and Thomas and John Doughty, who had by now fomented a dangerous spirit of mutiny by playing upon the fears and jealousies of the men, were placed under the supervision of Tom Moone, master of the *Christopher*. Leaving Port Desire on June 3rd, the four ships were again scattered by heavy weather and forced back. The *Christopher* was then abandoned, the Doughties being placed in confinement on board the *Elizabeth*. When the harassed expedition, on June 20th, sailed into Port St. Julian (the scene of Magellan's final preparations before entering the Straits) and the full extent of the enterprise was at last apparent, Drake was faced with open mutiny.]

There was (now) adjoynd and grewe another mischief, wrought and contrived closely among ourselves; as great, yea, farre greater, and of farre more grievous consequence then the former, but that it was by God's providence detected and prevented in time, which else had extended itselfe, not onely to the violent shedding of innocent blood by murthering our generall, and such others as were most firme and faithfull to him, but also to the final overthrow of the whole action intended, and to divers other most dangerous effects.

These plotts had beene layd before the voyage beganne, in England: the very modell of them was shewed and declared to our Generall in his garden at Plimmouth before his setting sayle, which yet he either would not credit, as true or likely of a person whom he loved so deerely, and was perswaded of to love him likewise unfainedly, or thought by love and benefits to remove and remedy it, if there were any evill purposes conceived against him.

And therefore he did not onely continue (to this suspected and accused person) al countenance, credit, and courtesies, which he was

wont to show and give him; but encreased them, using him in a manner as another himselfe; giving him the second place in all companies, in his presence; leaving in his hand the state, as it were, of his owne person in his absence; imparting unto him all his counsell; allowing him free liberty in all things that were reasonable; and bearing often, at his hands, great infirmities; yea, despising that any private injury should breake so firme a friendship as he meant towards him. And therefore was he oftentimes not a little offended, even with those who (upon consciences of their duty, and knowledge that otherwise they should indeed offend) disclosed from time to time unto him how the fire increased, that threatned his owne, together with the distruction of the whole action.

But at length perceiving that his lenity and favours did little good, in that the heat of ambition was not yet allayed, nor could be quenched, as it seemed, but by blood; and that the manifold practises grew dayly more and more, even to extremities; he thought it high time to call these practises into question, before it were too late to call any question of them into hearing. And therefore setting good watch over him, and assembling all his Captaines, and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will and inward affection, more then brotherly, which he had ever since his first acquaintance borne him, not omitting the respect which was had of him among no meane personages in England; and afterwards delivered the letters which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time which had beene observed, not so much by himselfe as by his good friends; not onely at sea, but even at Plimmouth; not bare words, but writings; not writings alone, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making away of his person.

Proofes were required and alleaged, so many and so evident, that the gentleman himselfe, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and unkinde dealing, acknowledged himselfe to have deserved death, yea many deathes; for that he conspired, not onely the overthrow of the action, but of the principall actor also, who was not a stranger or il-willer, but a deare and true friend unto him; and therefore in a great assembly openly besought them, in whose hands justice rested, to take some order for him, that he might not be compelled to enforce his owne hands against his owne bowells, or otherwise to become his owne executioner.

The admiration and astonishment hereat in all the hearers, even those that were his neerest friends and most affected him, was great, yea, in those, which for many benefits received from him, had good cause to love him; but yet the generall was most of all distracted, and therefore withdrew himselfe, as not able to conceale his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter, to give their judgements, as they would another day answer it unto their prince and unto Almighty God, judge of all the earth. Therefore they all, above 40 in number, the chieftest of place and judgement in the whole fleet, after they had discussed diversly of the case, and alleaged whatsoever came in their mindes, or could be there produced by any of his other friends, with their owne hands, under seale, adjudged that: *He had deserved death: And that it stooode, by no meanes with their safety, to let him live: And therefore, they remitted the manner thereof, with the rest of the circumstances, to the Generall.*

This judgement, and as it were assise, was held a land, in one of the Ilands of that port, which afterwards, in memory hereof was called, the Iland of *True justice and judgement.*

Now after this verdict was thus returned unto our generall (unto whom, for his company, her Majesty, before his departure, had committed her sword, to use for his safety, with this word: *We doe account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us*), he called for the guilty party, and caused to be read unto him the severall verdicts which were written and pronounced of him; which being acknowledged for the most part (for none had given heavier sentence against him then he had given against himselfe), our generall proposed unto him this choice: *Whether he would take, to be executed in this Iland? or to be sett a land on the maine? or returne into England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her Majesties Councell?*

He most humbly thanked the Generall for his clemencie, extended towards him in such ample sort: and craving some respite to consult thereon, and so make his choice adv'sedly: the next day he returned this answer, that: *Albeit he had yeilded in his heart to entertaine so great a sinne, whereof now he was justly condemned: yet he had a care, and that exceeding all other cares, to die a Christian man, that whatsoever did become of his clay body, he might yet remaine assured of an eternall inheritance in a farre better life. This he feared, if he should be set a land among Infidels, how he should be able to maintaine this assurance, feeling, in his owne frailtie, how mighty the contagion is*

*of lewde custome.* And therefore he besought the generall most earnestly, that *he would yet have a care and regarde of his soule, and never jeopard it amongst heathen and savage Infidells.* If he should *returne into England, he must first have a ship, and men to conduct it, with sufficient victuals; two of which, though they were had, yet for the third, he thought no man would accompanie him, in so bad a message to so vile an issue, from so honorable a service.* But if that there were which could induce their mindes to *returne with him, yet the very shame of the returne would be as death, or grievouser if it were possible: because he should be so long a dying, and die so often.* Therefore he *professed, that with all his heart, he did embrace the first branch of the generalls proffer, desiring onely this favour, that they might receive the holy communion once againe together before his death, and that he might not die other then a gentleman's death.*

Though sundry reasons were used by many to persuade him to take either of the other wayes, yet when he remained resolute in his former determination, both parts of his last request were granted: and the next convenient day a communion was celebrated by Mr. *Francis Fletcher*, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The generall himselfe communicated at this Sacred ordinance, with this condemned penitent gentleman, who showed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart, as who was more deeply displeased with his owne act then any man else. And after this holy repast they dined, also at the same table together, as cheerefully in sobriety, as ever in their lives they had done aforetime: each cheering up the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey onely had beene in hand.

After dinner, all things being brought in a readines, by him that supplied the roome of the provost-Marshall; without any dallying, or delaying the time, he came forth and kneeled downe, preparing at once his necke for the axe, and his spirit for heaven; which having done without long ceremony, as who had before digested this whole tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and willed the executioner to doe his office, not to feare nor spare.

Thus having by the worthie manner of his death (being much more honorable by it, then blameable for any other of his actions) fully blotted out whatever staine his fault might seeme to bring upon him; he left unto our fleete a lamentable example of a goodly gentleman, who in seeking advancement unfit for him, cast away him-

elfe: and unto posteritie a monument of, I know not what, fatall calamitie, as incident to that Port, and such like actions, which might happilie afford a new paire of parallels to be added to Plutarchs: In that the same place, neere about the same time of the yeare, witnessed the execution of 2 gentlemen, suffring both for the like cause, employed both in like service, entertained both in great place, endowed both with excellent qualities, the one 58 yeare after the other.

For, on the maine, our men found a gibbet, fallen downe, made of a spruce mast, with mens bones underneath it, which they conjectured to be the same gibbet which *Magellane* commanded to be erected, in the yeare 1520, for the execution of *John Carthagene*, the Bishop of Burgos cosen, who by the kings order was joyned with *Magellane* in commission, and made his vice-admirall.

In the Iland, as we digged to burie this gentleman, we found a great grinding stone, broken in two parts, which wee tooke and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the feet, building up the middle space with other stones and turfes of earth, and engraved in the stones the names of the parties buried there, with the time of their departure, and a memoriall of our generalls name, in Latine, that it might the better be understood, of all that should come after us.

These things thus ended and set in order, our generall discharged the *Mary*, viz., our Portugall prise, because shee was leake and troublesome, defaced her, and then left her ribs and keele upon the Iland, where for two moneths together we had pitched our tents. And so having wooded, watered, trimmed our ships, dispatched all our other businesses, and brought our fleet into the smallest number, even 3 onely, besides our pinnaces, that we might the easier keepe ourselves together, be the better furnished with necessaries, and be the stronger mand, against whatsoever need should be, *August 17*, we departed out of this port, and being now in great hope of a happie issue to our enterprise, which Almighty God hitherto had so blest and prospered, we set our course for the Straights, Southwest.

*August 20*, we fel with the cape, neere which lies the entrance into the straight, called by the Spaniards *Capo Virgin Maria*, appearing 4 leagues before you come to it, with high and steepe gray cliffes, full of black starres, against which the sea beating, sheweth as it were the poutings of whales, having the highest of the cape, like Cape Vin-

cent in Portugall. At this cape, our generall caused his fleet, in homage to our soveraigne lady the Queenes majesty, to strike their top-sailes upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad minde, to shewe his dutifull obedience to her highnes, whom he acknowledged to have full interest and right in that new discovery; and withall, in remembrance of his honorable friend and favorer, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, he changed the name of the shippe which himselfe went in from the *Pellican* to be called the *Golden Hinde*. Which ceremonies being ended, together with a sermon, teaching true obedience, with prayers and giving of thanks for her majesty and most honorable counsell, with the whole body of the common weale and church of God, we continued our course on into the said frete, where passing with land in sight on both sides, we shortly fell with so narrow a straite, as carrying with it much winde, often turnings, and many dangers, requireth an expert judgement in him that shall passe the same: it lieth West North West and East South East. But having left this straite a sterne, we seemed to be come out of a river of two leagues broad, into a large and maine sea; having the night following, an Iland in sight, which (being in height nothing inferior to the Iland *Fogo*, before spoken of) burneth (like it also) alofte in the aire, in a wonderfull sort, without intermission.

It hath formerly been received as an undoubted truth, that the seas, following the course of the first mover, from East to West, have a continuall current through this straite, but our experience found the contrary: the ebbings and flowings here being as orderly (in which water rises and falls more than 5 fathomes upright) as on other coasts.

The 24 of *August*, being Bartholomew day, we fell with three Ilands, bearing triangle-wise one from another; one of them was very faire and large and of a fruitfull soile, upon which, being next unto us and the weather very calme, our Generall with his gentlemen and certaine of his mariners, then landed, taking possession thereof in her Majesties name, and to her use, and called the same *Elizabeth Iland*.

The other two, though they were not so large nor so faire to the eye, yet were they to us exceeding usefull, for in them wee found great store of strange birds, which could not flie at all, nor yet runne so fast as that they could escape us with their lives; in body they are less than a goose, and bigger than a mallard, short and thicke sett to-

gether, having no feathers, but instead thereof a certaine hard and matted downe; their beakes are not much unlike the bills of crows, they lodge and breed upon the land, where making earthes, as the conies doe, in the ground, they lay their egges and bring up their young; their feeding and provision to live on is in the sea, where they swimm in such sort, as nature may seeme to have granted them no small prerogative in swiftnesse, both to prey upon others, and themselves to escape from any others that seeke to cease upon them; and such was the infinite resort of these birds to these Ilands, that in the space of 1 day we killed no lesse than 3000, and if the increase be according to the number, it is not to be thought that the world hath brought forth a greater blessing, in one kinde of creature in so small a circuit, so necessarily and plentifully serving the use of man; they are a very good and wholesome victuall. Our Generall named these Ilands, the one *Bartholomew*, according to the day, the other *Saint Georges*, in honour of England, according to the ancient custom there observed.

In the Iland of *Saint George* we found the body of a man, so long dead before that his bones would not hold together, being moved out of the place whereon they lay.

From these Ilands to the entrance into the South-sea, the frete is very crooked, having many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we were often troubled with contrary windes, so that some of our ships recovering a cape of land, entring another reach, the rest were forced to alter their course and come to anchor where they might. It is true which *Magellane* reporteth of this passage: namely, that there be many faire harbours and store of fresh water; but some ships had need to be fraughted with nothing else besides anchors and cables, to find ground in most of them to come to anchor, which when any extreame gusts or contrary windes doe come (whereunto the place is altogether subject), is a great hindrance to the passage, and carrieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very high and mountainous, having on the North and West side the continent of America, and on the South and East part nothing but Ilands, among which lye innumerable fretes or passages into the South sea. The mountaines arise with such tops and spires into the aire, and of so rare a height, as they may well be accounted amongst the wonders of the world; environed, as

it were, with many regions of congealed clouds and frozen meteors, whereby they are continually fed and increased, both in height and bignes, from time to time, retaining that which they have once received, being little againe diminished by the heate of the sun, as being so farre from reflexion and so nigh the cold and frozen region.

But notwithstanding all this, yet are the lowe and plaine groundes verie fruitful, the grasse greene and naturall; the hearbs, that are of very strange sorts, good and many; the trees, for the most part of them, alwaies greene; the ayre of the temperature of our countrey; the water most pleasant; and the soile agreeing to any graine which we have growing in our countrie; a place no doubt, that lacketh nothing but a people to use the same to the Creators glory and the encreasing of the Church. The people inhabiting these parts made fires as we passed by in divers places.

Drawing nigh the entrance of the South Sea, wee had such a shutting up to the Northwards, and such large and open fretes toward the South, that it was doubtfull which way wee should passe, without further discoverie; for which cause, our Generall having broughte his fleete to anchor under an Iland, himselfe, with certaine of his gentlemen, rowed in a boate to descrie the passage, who, having discovered a sufficient way towards the North, in their returne to their ships met a cannowe, under the same Iland where wee rode then at anchor, having in her divers persons.

This cannowe, or boate, was made of the barke of divers trees, having a prow and a sterne standing up, and semi-circlewise yeelding inward, of one forme and fashion, the body whereof was a most dainty mould, bearing in it most comely proportion and excellent workmanship, in so much as to our Generall and us, it seemed never to have beene done without the cunning and expert iudgement of art; and that not for the use of so rude and barbarous a people, but for the pleasure of some great and noble personage, yea, of some Prince. It had no other closing up or caulking in the seames, but the stichin with thongs, made of seale-skins, or other such beast, and yet so close that it received very little or no water at all.

The people are of a meane stature, both well set and compact in all their parts and limmes; they have great pleasure in painting their faces, as the others have, of whom we have spoken before. Within the said Iland they had a house of meane building, of certaine poles, and covered with skinnes of beasts, having therein fire, water, and

much meate, as commonly they can come by, as seales, mussels, and such like.

The vessels wherein they keepe their water, and their cups in which they drinke, are made of barkes of trees, as was their canow, and that with no lesse skill (for the bignesse of the thing), being of a very formall shape and good fashion. Their working tooles, which they use in cutting these things and such other, are knives made of most huge and monstrous mussell shels (the like whereof have not been seen or heard of lightly by any travellers, the meate thereof beeing very savourie and good in eating), which, after they have broken off the thinne and brittle substance of the edge, they rub and grinde them upon stones had for the purpose, till they have tempered and set such an edge upon them, that no wood is so hard but they will cut it at pleasure with the same; whereof we ourselves had experience. Yea, they cut therewith bones of a marvellous hardnesse, making of them figies to kill fish, wherein they have a most pleasant exercise with great dexteritie.

The sixth of *September* we had left asterne of us all these troublesome Ilands, and were entered into the South Sea, or *Mare del Zur*, at the cape whereof our Generall had determined with his whole company to have gone ashore, and there after a sermon to have left a monument of her Maiestie, ingraven in mettall, for a perpetuall remembrance, which he had in a readinesse for that end prepared: but neither was there any anchoring, neither did the wind suffer us by any meanes to make a stay.

Onely this by all our men's observations was concluded: that the entrance, by which we came into this straite, was in 52 deg., the middest in 53 deg. 15 min., and the going out in 52 deg. 30 min., being 150 leagues in length: at the very entry, supposed also to be about 10 leagues in bredth. After we were entred ten leagues within it, it was found not past a league in breadth: farther within, in some places very large, in some very narrow, and in the end found to be no straite at all, but all Ilands.

Now when our generall perceived that the nipping cold, under so cruell and frowning a winter, had empaired the health of some of his men, hee meant to have made the more hast againe toward the line, and not to saile any farther towards the pole Antartick, lest being farther from the Sunne, and neerer the cold, we might happily be overtaken with some greater danger of sicknesse. But God, giving

men leave to purpose, reserveth to himselfe the disposition of all things; making their intents of none effect, or changing their meanings oftentimes cleane into the contrary, as may best serve for his owne glory and their profit.

For *September* 7, the second day after our entrance into the South Sea (called by some *Mare pacificum*, but proving to us rather to be *Mare furiosum*), God by a contrary wind and intollerable tempest, seemed to set himselfe against us, forcing us not onely to alter our course and determination, but with great trouble, long time, many dangers, hard escapes, and finall separating of our fleet, to yeeld ourselves unto his will. Yea, such was the extremitie of the tempest, that it appeared to us as if he had pronounced a sentence, not to stay his hand, nor to withdraw his iudgement, till he had buried our bodies, and ships also, in the bottomlesse depth of the raging sea.

In the time of this incredible storme, the 15 of *September*, the moone was eclipsed in Aries, and darkened about three points, for the space of two glasses; which being ended, might seeme to give us some hope of alteration and change of weather to the better. Notwithstanding, as the ecclipticall conflict could adde nothing to our miserable estate, no more did the ending thereof ease us anything at all, nor take away any part of our troubles from us: but our eclipse continued still in its full force, so prevailing against us, that, for the space of full 52 dayes together, we were darkened more then the moone by 20 parts, or more then we by any meanes could ever have preserved or recovered light of ourselves againe, if the Sonne of God, which layed this burthen upon our backs, had not mercifully borne it up with his owne shoulders, and upheld us in it by his owne power, beyond any possible strength or skill of man. Neither indeed did we at all escape, but with the feeling of great discomforts through the same.

For these violent and extraordinarie flawes (such as seldome have beene seene) still continuing, or rather increasing, *September* 30, in the night, caused the sorrowfull separation of the *Marigold* from us; in which was captaine *John Thomas*, with many others of our deare friends, who by no means that we could conceive could helpe themselves, but by spooming along before the sea. With whom, albeit wee could never meet againe, yet (our Generall having aforehand given order, that if any of our fleet did loose company, the place of resort to meete againe should be in 30 deg. or thereabouts, upon the coast of Peru, toward the Equinoctiall), wee long time hoped (till

experience shewed our hope was vaine) that there we should ioyfully meet with them: especially for that they were well provided of victuals, and lackt no skilfull and sufficient men (besides their Capitaine) to bring forwards the ship to the place appointed.

From the seventh of *September* (in which the storme began) till the seventh of *October*, we could not by any meanes recover any land (having in the meane time beene driven so farre South as to the 57 deg. and somewhat better) on this day towards night, somewhat to the Northward of that cape of America (whereof mention is made before, in the description of our departure from the straite into this sea), with a sorrie saile wee entred a harbour: where hoping to enioy some freedome and ease till the storme was ended, we received within few houres after our comming to anchor so deadly a stroake and hard entertainment, that our Admirall left not onely an anchor behind her, through the violence and furie of the flawe, but in departing thence, also lost the company and sight of our Vice-admirall, the *Elizabeth*, partly through the negligence of those that had the charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in her had to be out of these troubles, and to be at home againe; which (as since is knowne) they thenceforward by all meanes assayed and performed. For the very next day, *October* 8, recovering the mouth of the straits againe (which wee were now so neere unto) they returned backe the same way by which they came forward, and so coasting *Brasil*, they arrived in *England* *June* 2 the yeare following.

So that now our Admirall, if she had retained her old name of *Pellican*, which she bare at our departure from our country, she might have beene now indeed said to be as a pellican alone in the wilderness. For albeit our Generall sought the rest of his fleet with great care, yet could we not have any sight or certaine newes of them by any meanes.

From this day of parting of friends, we were forcibly driven backe againe into 55 deg. towards the pole *Antarticke*. In which height we ranne in among the Ilands before mentioned, lying to the Southward of America, through which we passed from one sea to the other, as hath beene declared. Where, comming to anchor, wee found the waters there to have their indraught and free passage, and that through no small guts or narrow channels, but indeed through as large frets or straights as it hath at the supposed straights of *Magellane*, through which we came.

Among these Ilands making our abode with some quietnesse for a very little while (viz. two dayes), and finding divers good and wholesome herbs, together with fresh water; our men, which before were weake, and much empaired in their health, began to receive good comfort, especially by the drinking of one herbe (not much unlike that herbe which wee commonly call Pennyleafe), which purging with great facilitie, afforded great helpe and refreshing to our wearied and sickly bodies. But the winds returning to their old wont, and the seas raging after their former manner, yea everything as it were setting itselfe against our peace and desired rest, here was no stay permitted us, neither any safety to be looked for.

For such was the present danger by forcing and continuall flawes, that we were rather to looke for present death then hope for any delivery, if God Almighty should not make the way for us. The winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at libertie, or as if the clouds under heaven had beene called together to lay their force upon that one place. The seas, which by nature and of themselves are heavie, and of a weightie substance, were rowled up from the depths, even from the rootes of the rockes, as if it had beene a scroll of parchment, which by the extremity of heate runneth together; and being aloft were carried in most strange manner and abundance, as feathers or drifts of snow, by the violence of the winds, to water the exceeding tops of high and loftie mountaines. Our anchors, as false friends in such a danger, gave over their hold-fast, and as if it had beene with horror of the thing, did shrink downe to hide themselves in this miserable storme, committing the distressed ship and helpelessemen to the uncertaine and rowling seas, which tossed them, like a ball in a racket. In this case, to let fall more anchors would availe us nothing; for being driven from our first place of anchoring, so unmeasurable was the depth, that 500 fathome would fetch no ground. So that the violent storme without intermission; the impossibility to come to anchor; the want of opportunitie to spread any sayle; the most mad seas; the lee shores; the dangerous rocks; the contrary and most intollerable winds; the impossible passage out; the desperate tarrying there; and inevitable perils on every side, did lay before us so small likelihood to escape present destruction, that if the speciall providence of God himselfe had not supported us, we could never have endured that wofull state: as being invironed with most terrible and most fearefull iudgements

round about. For truly, it was more likely that the mountaines should have beene rent in sunder from the top to the bottome, and cast headlong into the sea, by these unnaturall winds, then that we, by any helpe or cunning of man, should free the life of any one amongst us.

Notwithstanding, the same God of mercy which delivered *Ionas* out of the Whales belly, and heareth all those that call upon him faithfully in their distresse, looked downe from heaven, beheld our teares, and heard our humble petitions, ioyned with holy vowes. Even God (whom not the winds and seas alone, but even the divels themselves and powers of hell obey) did so wonderfully free us, and make our way open before us, as it were by his holy Angels still guiding and conducting us, that, more then the affright and amaze of this estate, we received no part of damage in all the things that belonged unto us.

But escaping from these straites and miseries, as it were through the needles ey (that God might have the greater glory in our delivery), by the great and effectuall care and travell of our Generall, the Lord's instrument therein; we could now no longer forbear, but must needs find some place of refuge, as well to provide water, wood, and other necessaries, as to comfort our men, thus worne and tired out by so many and so long intollerable toyles; the like whereof, its to be supposed, no traveller hath felt, neither hath there ever beene such a tempest (that any records make mention of), so violent and of such continuance since *Noahs* flood; for, as hath beene sayd, it lasted from *September 7* to *October 28th*, full 52 days.

\* \* \* \* \*

[After about a month had been spent in rest and refitting, Drake proceeded up the Chilian coast towards Valparaiso, hoping to collect his scattered fleet for the sack of Lima and Panama.]

This harbor the Spaniards call *Valperizo*, and the towne adioyning *Saint James of Chili*: it stands in 35 deg. 40 min.; where, albeit, we neither met with our ships nor heard of them; yet there was no good thing which the place afforded, or which our necessities indeed for the present required, but we had the same in great abundance: amongst other things, we found in the towne diverse storehouses of the wines of *Chilie*; and in the harbour, a ship called the *Captaine of*

*Morill, or the Grand Captaine of the South, Admirall to the Ilands of Salomon*, loaded for the most part with the same kinde of liquors; onely there was besides a certaine quantity of fine gold of Baldinia and a great crosse of gold beset with emeraulds, on which was nailed a god of the same mettall. Wee spent some time in refreshing ourselves and easing this ship of so heavy a burthen, and on the 8 day of the same moneth (having in the meane time sufficiently stored ourselves with necessaries, as wine, bread, bacon, etc., for a long season), we set saile, returning backe towards the line, carrying againe our Indian pilote with us, whom our Generall bountifully rewarded, and enriched with many good things, which pleased him exceedingly, and caused him by the way to be landed in the place where he desired.

Our necessities being thus to our content releevd, our next care was the regaining (if possible) of the company of our ships, so long severed from us: neither would anything have satisfied our Generall or us so well, as the happy meeting, or good news of them: this way therefore (all other thoughts for the present set apart) were all our studies and endeavours bent, how to fit it so as that no opportunity of meeting them might be passed over.

To this end, considering that we could not conveniently runne in with our ship (in search of them) to every place where was likelihood of being a harbour, and that our boate was too little, and unable to carry men enough to encounter the malice or treachery of the Spaniards (if we should by any chance meete with any of them) who are used to show no mercy where they may overmaster; and therefore, meaning not to hazard our selves to their cruell courtesie, we determined, as we coasted now towards the line, to search diligently for some convenient place where we might, in peace and safety, stay the trimming of our ship, and the erecting of a pinnace, in which wee might with better security then in our boate, and without endangering of our ship, by running into each creeke, leave no place untried, if happily we might so finde againe our friends and countrymen.

For this cause, *December* 19, we entred a bay, not farre to the Southward of the towne of *Cyppo*, now inhabited by the Spaniards, in 29 deg. 30 min., where, having landed certaine of our men, to the number of 14, to search what conveniency the place was likely to afford for our abiding there; we were immediately descried by the Spaniards of the towne of *Cyppo* aforesayd, who speedily made out

300 men at least, wherof 100 were Spaniards, every one well mounted upon his horse: the rest were Indians, running as dogs at their heeles, all naked, and in most miserable bondage.

They could not come any way so closely, but God did open our eyes to see them, before their was any extremity of danger, whereby our men being warned, had reasonable time to shift themselves as they could: first from the maine to a rocke within the sea, and from thence into their boate, which being ready to receive them, conveyed them with expedition out of the reach of the Spaniards fury without the hurt of any man.

Only one *Richard Minivy*, being over bold and carelesse of his owne safety, would not be intreated by his friends, nor feared by the multitude of his enemies, to take the present benefit of his owne delivery; but chose either to make 300 men, by outbraving of them, to become afraide, or else himselfe to die in the place; the latter of which he did, whose dead body being drawne by the Indians from the rocke to the shoare, was there manfully by the Spaniards beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart pluckt out; all which they carried away in our sight, and for the rest of his carcase they caused the Indians to shoote it full of arrowes, made but the same day, of greene wood, and so left it to be devoured of the beastes and fowles, but that we went ashoare againe and buried it; wherein as there appeareth a most extreame and barbarous cruelty, so doth it declare to the world in what miserable feare the Spaniards holdeth the government of those parts; living in continuall dread of forreigne invasion by strangers, or secret cutting of their throats by those whom they kept under them in so shamefull slavery, I meane the innocent and harmlesse Indians. And therefore they make sure to murder what strangers soever they can come by, and suffer the Indians by no meanes to have any weapon longer then they be in present service: as appeared by their arrowes cut from the tree the same day, as also by the credible report of others who knew the matter to be true. Yea they suppose they shew the wretches great favour, when they do not for their pleasures whip them with cords, and day by day drop their naked bodies with burning bacon, which is one of the least cruelties amongst many which they universally use against that nation and people.

This being not the place we looked for, nor the entertainment such as we desired, we speedily got hence againe, and, *December 20,*

the next day, fell with a more convenient harbour, in a bay somewhat to the Northward of the forenamed *Cypso*, lying in 27 deg. 55 min., South the Line.

In this place we spent some time in trimming of our ship, and building of our pinnace, as we desired; but still the griefe for the absence of our friends remained with us, for the finding of whom our Generall, having now fitted all things to his minde, intended (leaving his ship the meane while at anchor in the bay) with his pinnace and some chosen men, himselfe to returne backe to the Southwards againe, to see if happily he might either himselfe meete with them, or find them in some harbour or creeke, or heare of them by any others whom he might meete with. With this resolution he set on, but after one daies sayling, the winde being contrary to his purpose, he was forced, whether he would or no, to returne againe.

Within this bay, during our abode there, we had such abundance of fish, not much unlike our gurnard in England, as no place had ever afforded us the like (Cape *Blanck* onely upon the coast of *Barbary* excepted) since our first setting forth of *Plymouth*, untill this time, the plenty whereof in this place was such, that our gentlemen sporting themselves day by day with 4 or 5 hookes or lines, in 2 or 3 houres, would take sometimes 400, sometimes more at one time.

All our businesses being thus dispatched, *January* 19, we set sayle from hence; and the next place that we fell withall, *January* 22, was an Iland standing in the same height, with the North cape of the province of *Mormorena*. At this Iland we found 4 Indians with their canowes, which tooke upon them to bring our men to a place of fresh water on the foresayd cape; in hope whereof, our General made them great cheere (as his manner was towards all strangers), and set his course by their direction, but when we came unto the place, and had travelled up a long way into the land, wee found fresh water indeed, but scarce so much as they had drunke wine in their passage thither.

As we sayled along, continually searching for fresh water, we came to a place called *Tarapaca*, and landing there we lighted on a Spaniard who lay asleepe, and had lying by him 13 barres of silver, waighing in all about 4000 Spanish ducatts: we would not (could wee have chosen) have awaked him of his napp: but seeing we, against our wills, did him that injury, we freed him of his charge, which otherwise perhaps would have kept him waking, and so left

him to take out (if it pleased him) the other part of his sleepe in more security.

Our search for water still continuing, as we landed againe not farre from thence, we met a Spaniard with an Indian boy, driving 8 lambes or Peruvian sheepe: each sheepe bare two leathren bagges, and in each bagge was 50 pound waight of refined silver, in the whole 800 waight: we could not indure to see a gentleman Spaniard turnd carrier so, and therefore without intreaty we offered our service and became drovers, onely his directions were not so perfect that we could keepe the way which hee intended; for almost as soone as hee was parted from us, we with our new kinde of carriges, were come unto our boates.

Farther beyond this cape fore-mentioned lie certaine Indian towns, frō whence, as we passed by, came many of the people in certaine bawses made of seales skins; of which two being joyned together of a iust length, and side by side, resemble in fashion and forme a boate: they have in either of them a small gutt, or some such thing blowne full of winde, by reason whereof it floateth, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small burthen. In these, upon sight of our ship, they brought store of fish of diverse sortes, to traffique with us for any trifles wee would give them, as knives, margarites, glasses, and such like, whereof men of 60 and 70 yeares old were as glad as if they had received some exceeding rich commodity, being a most simple and plaine dealing people. This resort unto us was such as, considering the shortnesse of the time, was wonderfull to us to behold.

Not farre from this, viz., in 22 deg. 30 min., lay *Mormorena*, another great towne of the same people, over whom 2 Spaniards held the government; with these our Generall thought meet to deale, or at least to try their courtesy, whether they would, in way of traffique, give us such things as we needed or no, and therefore, *Jan.* the 26, we cast anchor here. We found them (more for feare than for love) somewhat tractable, and received from them by exchange many good things, very necessarie for our uses.

Amongst other things which we had of them, the sheepe of the cuntry (viz., such as we mentioned before, bearing the leatherne bags) were most memorable. Their height and length was equall to a pretty cow, and their strength fully answerable, if not by much exceeding their size or stature. Upon one of their backes did sit at one

time three well growne and tall men, and one boy, no mans foot touching the ground by a large foot in length, the beast nothing at all complaining of his burthen in the meane time. These sheepe have neckes like camels, their heads bearing a reasonable resemblance of another sheepe. The Spaniards use them to great profit. Their wooll is exceeding fine, their flesh good meate, their increase ordinarie, and besides they supply the roome of horses for burthen or travell: yea they serve to carry over the mountaines marvellous loades, for 300 leagues together, where no other carriage can be made but by them onely.<sup>1</sup> Hereabout, as also all along, and up into the countrey throughout the Province of *Cusko*, the common ground, wheresoever it bee taken up, in every hundred pound weight of earth, yeeldeth 25*s.* of pure silver, after the rate of a crowne an ounce.

The next place likely to affoord us any newes of our ships (for in all this way from the height where wee builded our pinnace, there was no bay or harbour at all for shipping), was the port of the towne of *Arica*, standing in 20 deg., whither we arrived the 7 of *February*. This towne seemed to us to stand in the most fruitfull soile that we saw all amongst these coasts, both for that it is situate in the mouth of a most pleasant and fertile vally, abounding with all good things, as also in that it hath continuall trade of shipping, as well from *Lyma* as from all other parts of *Peru*. It is inhabited by the Spaniards. In two barks here we found some forty and odd barres of silver (of the bignesse and fashion of a brickbatte, and in waight each of them about 20 pounds), of which we tooke the burthen on ourselves to ease them, and so departed towards *Chowley*, with which wee fell the second day following, viz., *Feb.* 9; and in our way to *Lima*, we met with another barke at *Ariquipa*, which had begun to loade some silver and gold, but having had (as it seemed, from *Arica* by land) some notice of our comming, had unloaden the same againe before our arrivall. Yet in this passage we met another barke loaden with linnen, some of which we thought might stand us in some stead, and therefore tooke it with us.

At *Lima* we arrived *Febr.* 15, and notwithstanding the Spaniards forces, though they had thirtie ships at that present in harbour there, whereof 17 (most of them the especiall ships in all the South Sea) were fully ready, we entred and anchored all night in the midst of

<sup>1</sup> i.e. llamas.

them, in the *Calao*, and might have made more spoile amongst them in few houres, if we had beene affected to revenge, then the Spaniard could have recovered againe in many yeares. But wee had more care to get up that company which we had so long mist, then to recompence their cruell and hard dealing by an even requittall, which now we might have tooke. This Lima stands in 12 deg. 30 min. South latitude.

Here, albeit no good newes of our ships could bee had, yet got we the newes of some things that seemed to comfort, if not to countervaile our travells thither, as, namely, that in the ship of one *Mighell Angell* there, there were 1500 barres of plate, besides some other things (as silkes, linnen, and in one a chest full of royals of plate), which might stand us in some stead in the other ships, aboard whom we made somewhat bold to bid our selves welcome.

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Lastly, here we had intelligence of a certaine rich ship which was loaden with gold and silver for Panama, that had set forth of this haven the second of *February*.

The very next day therefore in the morning (viz. the 16 of the said moneth) wee set sayle, as long as the wind would serve our turne, and towed our ship as soone as the wind failed; continuing our course toward Panama, making stay no where, but hastening all wee might, to get sight if it were possible of that gallant ship the *Cacafuego*, the great glory of the South Sea, which was gone from Lima 14 dayes before us.

We fell with the port of Paita in 4 deg. 40 min., *Feb.* 20, with the port Saint *Hellen* and the river and port of *Guiaquill*, *Feb.* 24. We past the line the 28, and the first of *March* wee fell with the cape *Francisco*, where, about midday, we descried a sayle a head of us, with whom, after once we had spoken with her, we lay still in the same place about sixe dayes to recover our breath againe, which we had almost spent with hasty following, and to recall to mind what adventures had passed us since our late comming from Lima; but especially to do *Iohn de Anton* a kindnesse, in freeing him of the care of those things with which his ship was loaden.

This ship we found to bee the same of which we had heard, not onely in the *Calao of Lima*, but also by divers occasions afterward, which now we are at leasure to relate, viz., by a ship which we tooke

betweene Lima and Paita: by another, which we took loaden with wine in the port of Paita: by a third, loaden with tackling and implements for ships (besides eightie pound waight in gold) from *Guiaquill*. And lastly, by *Gabriel Alvarez*, with whom we talked somewhat neerer the line. We found her to be indeed the *Cacafuego*, though before we left her, she were new named by a boy of her owne the *Cacaplata*. We found in her some fruite, conserves, sugars, meale, and other victuals, and (that which was the especiallest cause of her heavy and slow sayling) a certaine quantitie of jewels and precious stones, 13 chests of ryals of plate, 80 pound waight in gold, 26 tunne of uncoyned silver, two very faire gilt silver drinking boules, and the like trifles, valued in all at about 360,000 pezoës. We gave the master a little linnen and the like for these commodities, and at the end of sixe dayes we bad farewell and parted. Hee hastening somewhat lighter then before to Panama, we plying off to sea, that we might with more leasure consider what course henceforward were fittest to be taken.

And considering that now we were come to the Northward of the line (cape *Francisco* standing in the entrance of the bay of Panama, in 1 deg. of North latitude), and that there was no likelihood or hope that our ships should be before us that way by any meanes: seeing that in running so many degrees from the Southernmost Ilâds hitherto, we could not have any signe or notice of their passage that way, notwithstanding that we had made so diligent search and carefull enquirie after them, in every harbour or creeke almost as we had done; and considering also that the time of the yeare now drew on wherein we must attempt, or of necessitie wholly give over that action, which chiefly our Generall had determined, namely, the discovery of what passage there was to be found about the Northerne parts of America, from the South Sea, unto our owne Ocean (which being once discovered and made knowne to be navigable, we should not onely do our countrie a good and notable service, but we also ourselves should have a nearer cut and passage home; where otherwise, we were to make a very long and tedious voyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we having been so long from home already, and so much of our strength seperated from us), which could not at all be done if the opportunity of time were now neglected: we therefore all of us willingly harkened and consented to our Generalls advice, which was, first to seeke out

some convenient place wherein to trimme our ship, and store our selves with wood and water and other provisions as we could get, and thenceforward to hasten on our intended journey for the discovery of the said passage, through which we might with joy returne to our longed homes.<sup>1</sup>

From this cape, before we set onward, *March* the 7, shaping our course towards the Iland of *Caines*, with which we fell *March* 16, setting our selves for certaine dayes in a fresh river, betweene the maine and it, for the finishing of our needfull businesses, as it is aforesaid. While we abode in this place, we felt a very terrible earthquake, the force whereof was such that our ship and pinnace, riding very neere an English mile from the shoare, were shaken and did quiver as if it had been layd on drie land: we found here many good commodities which we wanted, as fish, fresh water, wood, etc., besides alargartoes, munckeyes, and the like; and in our journey hither we met with one ship more (the last wee met with in all those coastes), loaden with linnen, China silke and China-dishes, amongst which we found also a faulcon of gold, handsomely wrought, with a great emerald set in the brest of it.

From hence we parted the 24 day of the moneth forenamed, with full purpose to runne the neerest course, as the winde would suffer us, without touch of land a long time; and therefore passed by port Papagaia; the port of the Vale, of the most riche and excellent balmes of Jericho: Quantapico, and diverse others; as also certaine gulphes hereabouts, which without intermission send forth such continuall and violent windes, that the Spaniards, though their ships be good, dare not venture themselves too neere the danger of them.

Notwithstanding having notice that we should be troubled with often calmes and contrary windes, if we continued neere the coast, and did not runne of(f) to sea to fetch the winde, and that if we did so we could not then fall with land againe when we would; our Generall thought it needfull that we should runne in with some place or other before our departure from the coast, to see if happily wee could, by traffique, augment our provision of victuals and other

<sup>1</sup> According to a recent theory, Drake had been ordered to do two incompatible things—to explore the North-West Passage, and to open up a trade with the East Indies. Having little faith in the former, he made but a perfunctory search in order to reserve his strength for the latter project which was the main object of the voyage. (See J. A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins*, Oxford, 1927, p. 393.)

necessaries; that being at sea we might not be driven to any great want or necessitie, albeit wee had reasonable store of good things aboard us already.

The next harbor therefore which we chanced with on *April* 15, in 15 deg., 40 min., was *Guatulco*, so named of the Spaniards who inhabited it, with whom we had some entercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread, etc. And now having reasonably, as wee thought, provided ourselves, we departed from the coast of America for the present; but not forgetting, before we gate a-shipboard, to take with us also a certaine pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of ryalls of plate, which we found in the towne, together with a chaine of gold, and some other jewells, which we intreated a gentleman Spaniard to leave behinde him, as he was flying out of towne.

From *Guatulco* we departed the day following, viz., *Aprill* 16, setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and *June* 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the markes but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all; for besides that the pinching and biting aire was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an unnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone then any way so neere unto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun prevailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselves within their coverts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernesse of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremitie of heate, by reason whereof we might be more

sensible of the present cold : insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves : our meate, as soone as it was remooved from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen up, and our ropes and tackling in few dayes were growne to that stiffnesse, that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and uttermost endeavour, were hardly able to accomplish : whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased upon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way ; yet would not our General be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the divine providence, and of God's loving care over his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to quite themselves like men, to indure some short extremity to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that every man was throughly armed with willingnesse and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West then we before imagined, we were neerer on it then wee were aware : and yet the neerer still wee came unto it, the more extremity of cold did sease upon us. The 5 day of *June*, wee were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate upon us, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for us ; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged our men) would not permit us ; and the winds directly bent against us, having once gotten us under sayle againe, commanded us to the Southward whether we would or no.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If the theory indicated in the preceding footnote be accepted, then this description of arctic conditions in warm latitudes is a deliberate exaggeration,

From the height of 48 deg. in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in *June*, and the sunne in his neereſt approach unto them, being covered with ſnow.

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a convenient and fit harborough, and *June* 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of *July* following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of ſummer, and ſo neere the ſunne, yet were wee continually viſited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; inſomuch that if violent exerciſes of our bodies, and buſie employment about our neceſſarie labours, had not ſometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us ſtill our winter clothes; yea (had our neceſſities ſuffered us) to have kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire ſo cleare as to be able to take the height of the ſunne or ſtarre.

And here having ſo fit occaſion (notwithſtanding it may ſeeme to be beſides the purpoſe of writing the hiſtory of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the cauſes of the continuance of the extreame cold in theſe parts, as alſo into the probabilities or unlikelihoods of a paſſage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesſe of our bodies, coming ſo lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made us ſo ſenſible of the colds we here felt: in this reſpect, as in many others, we found our God a provident Father and carefull Phyſitian for us. We lacked no outward helpeſ nor inward comforts to reſtore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in us; neither was there wanting to us the great experience of our Generall, who had often himſelfe proved the force of the burning Zone, whoſe advice alwayes prevailed much to the preſerving of a moderate temper in our conſtitutions; ſo that even after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as ſponges, but ſtrong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of exceſſe of heate, then a number of chamber champions could have beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to ſea, or rather,

written in order to ſatisfy the authorities at home that a ſerious attempt had been made to complete the work of Frobiſher.

whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe, that caused this sensiblenes in us, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had never beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper, and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet used to come shivering to us in their warme furies, crowding close together, body to body, to receive heate one of another, and sheltring themselves under a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude themselves under our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! Shewing trees without leaves, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of *June* and *July*. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to observe it), so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature afforded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chiefest of which we conceive to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully joyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-covered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constan<sup>t</sup> visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they have breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And the North and North-west winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the North wind alone is in *August* and *September*, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued observations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall

squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie; hence comes it, that in the midst of their summer, the snow hardly departeth even from their very doores, but is never taken away from their hils at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne striving to performe his naturall office, in elevating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sunnes indeavour, forces him to give over his worke imperfect; and instead of higher elevation, to leave in the lowest region, wandering upon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, unlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very sel-dome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly beene at Wardhouse, in 72 deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of *June* and *July*.

And also from these reasons we conjecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that yet it is unnavigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and even in that height, when we had a franke wind to have carried us through, had there beene a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have beene had there beene a frete; of which we rather infallibly concluded, then conjectured, that there was none.

[The latitude of Vancouver had been reached when the attempt to reach England by the North-West Passage was abandoned, and Drake ran South to the harbour mentioned above, which was near San Francisco, to prepare for the tremendous task of crossing the Pacific. On 25th July they set sail due Westward, having no sight

of land for 68 days. A highly important commercial treaty was concluded with the king of Ternate in November, 1579. Shipwreck having been narrowly averted near the Celebes, Java was reached in the face of heavy gales in the following March; and two months later the Cape of Good Hope was rounded.]

The 26 of *Sept.* (which was Monday in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home in one place or countrie, but in our computation was the Lords day or Sunday) we safely with joyfull minds and thankfull hearts to God, arrived at *Plimoth*, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent two yeares 10 moneths and some few odde daies beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties in this our encompassing of this neather globe, and passing round about the world, which we have related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,  
Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,  
Soli suorum Conservatori,  
Soli Deo sit semper Gloria.



VII  
RALEGH



## *Introductory Note*

To grasp the complex character of Walter Raleigh is to go a long way towards understanding the mentality of the generation of Englishmen known as 'the Elizabethans'. In the wide range of his abilities and interests, in the brilliance of his achievements and in his shortcomings, he typified the spirit of the age. Where one was a soldier, another a statesman, another an explorer or colonizer, and yet another a man of letters, Raleigh was all these in turn. When such a man embarks on enterprises overseas, the nature of his aims and doings are peculiarly instructive to the student of European expansion.

Sir Walter, the fourth and youngest son of Walter Raleigh Esq., was born in 1552 in the parish of Budleigh in Devonshire. After a short residence at Oriel College, Oxford, he fought with the Protestants in France (1569-1575) and under the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands in 1577. The first indication of his interest in maritime enterprise and discovery was his participation with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in expeditions to the North-West. He was with the squadron in 1579 which was compelled to return to port after suffering a series of disasters, and he fitted out the barque *Raleigh* at his own expense for the subsequent colonizing expeditions (1583). His military career in Ireland and his rapid rise to favour and office at Elizabeth's court on his return may be passed over; they were, indeed, the least useful phases of his career.

From the project of opening a North-West route to the Orient and planting settlements on the desolate shores of Labrador, Raleigh evolved the far more promising idea of founding English colonies farther south, along the North American coast-line which the Spaniards had ignored. That the first band of settlers lost heart and returned home with Drake, and that the second company fell victims to Red Indian tomahawks was not due to any lack of support from the promoter. Virginia was eventually settled by a joint stock company, but its real founder was Sir Walter Raleigh.

Just as this man led the way in building an English-speaking America, so he was unconsciously responsible for dispelling a great illusion. Until Englishmen were convinced that wealth and power could not be obtained from the fabled splendours of Guiana, there was little prospect of their turning to sober means of expansion by

felling trees and raising crops. Guiana spelt ruin and disgrace to Raleigh; but that fact diverted his countrymen from a will o' the wisp. The discovery of enormous riches in Mexico and Peru had inculcated a lust for gold in England as well as Spain. When, therefore, persistent rumours found their way to Europe of a third great empire lying in regions between the Amazon and the Orinoco which the Spaniards had not yet penetrated, nothing was more natural than that a man of Raleigh's temperament should see therein a glorious opportunity of enhancing his own and his country's greatness.

The legend of El Dorado first emerged in 1539 when Gonzalo Pizarro was informed by certain Indians of a great Inca who on solemn occasions anointed himself from head to foot with gold dust before bathing in a sacred lake. Diego de Ordaz was dispatched in search of this Prince and his dominions. Thereafter a succession of costly expeditions set out to find the imperial city of Manoa where ruled El Dorado, 'the gilded one'. Soon there were explorers such as Juan Martinez who, having failed to discover fact, attempted to compensate by fabrication. They had actually visited Manoa on the shores of a great lake, the houses and streets of which glittered with innumerable jewels and with gold untold. When New Granada had failed to provide the coveted prize, the search was transferred to Guiana. Gradually the inland sea was identified in the popular imagination with inundated savannahs lying between the Rupununi and Rio Branco. Captaine Keymis, who accompanied Raleigh on the first voyage and who was sent back by him to Guiana in 1596, concluded that it was upon the shores of this 'lake' that the city of Manoa stood. The legend of El Dorado continued to incite Dutch and Spanish gold-hunters until late in the eighteenth century, and was not finally dispelled until the travels of Sir Robert Schomburgk (1835-1844) finally disproved the existence of any such lake in Guiana.

Raleigh has been ridiculed for believing in such an extravagant myth, and his assertions as to the existence of gold ore has been condemned as downright lying. The fact that the value of the gold yield in Guiana between 1886 and 1921 was computed at £9,500,000 would seem sufficiently to confute the latter charge. His belief in the existence of a 'gilded king' was secondary to his idea of a vast and fertile British Guiana, the resources of which would place

England in the front rank of European Powers, and from which the Spaniards could be expelled from Peru. He aimed at founding an empire: the presence of gold could be exploited to arouse the enthusiasm of his countrymen to that end.

Following upon a preliminary reconnaissance by Captain Jacob Widdon, whom Raleigh sent out in 1594, the latter sailed for Guiana in the following year with five ships and one hundred men. His exploration of the Orinoco as far as the junction of the Caroni was over ground well known to the Spaniards and was not therefore strictly speaking a *discovery* of those regions, nor did the present narrative induce his countrymen (deeply though it interested them) to follow his example. The dream of a British Guianian Empire, holding the allegiance of great and opulent cities, finally faded when James I in 1617 liberated Raleigh from the Tower and sent him to find his Guiana gold-mine under conditions which rendered death and disgrace almost inevitable. Raleigh's conduct on that occasion was far from faultless, but his subsequent execution on his return was judicial murder. Even his failure, however, had been of value. Those who followed his track to Guiana, men such as Charles Leigh and Robert Harcourt, sought to build communities and were content to let the hinterland preserve its glittering secrets. It was the passing of one age and the opening of another. Raleigh was the last of the Elizabethan gold-hunters and the first of the great colonizers.

THE  
DISCOVERIE  
OF THE LARGE,  
RICH, AND BEVVTFVL  
EMPYRE OF G V I A N A, WITH  
a relation of the great and Golden Citie  
of Manoa (*which the Spanyards call El  
Dorado*) And of the Provinces of *Emeria,*  
*Arromaia, Amapaia,* and other Coun-  
tries, with their riuers, ad-  
ioyning.

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir  
*W. Raleigh* Knight, Captaine of her  
*Māiesties Guard,* Lo. Warden  
of the Stanneries, and her High-  
nesse Lieutenant generall  
of the Countie of  
Cornewall.



*Imprinted at London by Robert Robinson.*  
1596.

## THE DISCOVERIE OF GUIANA

ON Thursday the 6 of Februarie in the yeare 1595, we departed *England*, and the sunday following had sight of the North cape of *Spayne*, the winde for the most part continuing prosperous; wee passed in sight of the *Burlings* and the rocke, and so onwarde for the *Canaries*, and fell with *Fuerte ventura* the 17th of the same moneth, where we spent two or three daies, and relieved our companies with some fresh meate. From thence wee coasted by the *Gran Canaria*, and so to *Tenerife*, and staid there for the Lyons whelp your Lordships ship, and for Captaine *Amys Preston* and the rest; but when after 7 or 8 daies we found them not, wee departed and directed our course for *Trinidad* with mine own shippe, and a small barke of Captaine *Crosses* onely (for we had before lost sight of a small Gallego on the coast of *Spayne*, which came with us from *Plymouth*): wee arrived at *Trinidad* the 22 of March, casting ancour at Point *Curiapan*, which the Spaniards call *Punto de Gallo*, which is situate in 8 degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4 or 5 daies, and in all that time we came not to the speach of anie Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*, but for feare of the Spaniards, none durst to come to speake with us. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore and landed in every Cove, the better to know the iland, while the ship kept the chanell. From *Curiapan* after a few daies we turned up Northeast to recover that place which the Spaniards cal *Puerto de los Hispanioles*,<sup>1</sup> and the inhabitants *Conquerabia*, and as before (revictualing my barge) I left the shippes and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitantes, and also to understand the rivers, watring places and portes of the iland which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your lordship after a few daies. From *Curiapan* I came to a port and seat of Indians called *Parico*, where we found a fresh-water river, but sawe no people. From thence I rowed to another port called by the naturals *Piche*, and by the Spaniards *Tierra de Brea* [pitch lake]. In the way betweene both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river that had store of oisters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and wel tasted. Al their oisters grow upon those

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Port of Spain.

boughs and spraiies, and not on the ground: the like is commonlie seene in the West Indies and else where. This tree is described by *Andrewē Thevet* in his French *Antartique*, and the forme figured in his booke as a plante very straunge, and by *Plinie* in his XII booke of his naturall historie. But in this ilande, as also in Guiana, there are verie manie of them.

\* \* \* \* \*

Meeting with the ships at *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, we found at the landing place a company of Spanyardes who kept a guard at the descent and they offering a signe of peace I sent Captaine *Whiddon* to speake with them, whome afterward to my great grieve I left buried in the said iland after my returne from *Guiana*, beeing a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into tearms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength then for ought else, and in the end upon pledge, some of them came aboard: the same evening there stole also aboard us in a small *Canoa* two Indians, the one of them being a *Casique* or Lord of people called *Cantyman*, who had the yeare before beene with Captaine *Whiddon*, and was of his acquaintance. By this *Cantyman* wee understood what strength the Spaniards had, how farre it was to their Citie, and of *Don Anthonio de Berreo*<sup>1</sup> the governor, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

While we remained at *Puerto de los Hispanioles* some Spaniards came aboard us to buy lynnens of the company, and such other thinges as they wanted, and also to view our shippes and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our manner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for those poore souldiers having beene many yeares without wine, a fewē draughtes made them merry, in which moode they vaunted of *Guiana* and of the riches thereof, and all what they knew of the waies and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the enterance or discoverie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those english, which I had planted in *Virginia*, whereof the brute<sup>2</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> Don Antonio de Berrio was governor of Trinidad and married to a niece of Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, the founder of 'Nuevo reyno de Granada', from whom he had inherited his treasures and the desire to discover the riches of Guiana.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. rumour.

come among them, which I had performed in my returne if extremity of weather had not forst me from the said coast.<sup>1</sup>

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be revenged of *Berreio*, who the yeare before betraied 8 of Captaine *Whiddons* men, and toke them while he departed from them to seeke the *E. Bonaventure*, which arrived at *Trinidado* the day before from the East Indies: in whose absence *Berreio* sent a *Canoe* aboard the pinnace onely with *Indians* and dogs inviting the company to goe with them into the wods to kil a deare, who like wise men in the absence of their Captaine followed the *Indians*, but were no sooner one harquebush shot from the shore, but *Berreios* souldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had given his worde to Captaine *Whiddon* that they should take water and wood safelie: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the *Spaniards* I daily learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the rivers and passages, and of the enterprize of *Berreio*, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the time I was assured by another *Casique* of the north side of the iland, that *Berreio* had sent to *Marguerita* and to *Cumana* for souldiers, meaning to have given me a *Cassado* at parting, if it had bin possible. For although he had given order through all the iland that no *Indian* should come aborde to trade with me upon paine of hanging and quartering, (having executed two of them for the same which I afterwards founde) yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty, how he had devided the iland and given to every soldier a part, that he made the ancient *Casiqui* which were Lordes of the country to be their slaves, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the same, there were 5 of the Lords or litle kings (which they cal *Casiqui* in the west Indies) in one chaine almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these are called in their own language *Acarewana*, and now of late since English, French, and Spanish are come among them, they cal themselves *Capitaynes*, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five *Capitaynes* in the chaine were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroari*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroo-*

<sup>1</sup> Between 1588 and his imprisonment in 1603, Raleigh sent no less than five separate expeditions to Virginia in search of his lost colonists.

*panama*, and *Alterima*. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter *Guiana* by small boats, to depart 400 or 500 miles from my ships, and to leave a garison in my backe interested in the same enterprize, who also daily expected supplies out of Spaine, I should have savoured very much of the Asse: and therfore taking a time of most advantage, I set upon the *Corp du guard* in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sente Captaine *Calfeild* onwards with 60 soldiers, and my self followed with 40 more and so toke their new city which they called *S. Joseph*,<sup>1</sup> by breake of day; they abode not any fight after a few shot, and al being dismissed but onely *Berreio* and his companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new city of *S. Josephs* on fire.

The same day arrived Captaine *George Gifford* with your Lordships ship, and Captaine *Keymis* whom I lost on the coast of Spaine, with the *Gallego*, and in them divers Gent<sup>n</sup> and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hastened away towards our purposed discovery, and first I called all the Captaines of the iland together that were enemies to the Spaniards, for there were some which *Berreio* had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and wast those that were natural of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a Queene, who was the great *Casique* of the north, and a virgin, and had more *Casiqui* under her then there were trees in their iland: that she was an enemy to the *Castellani* in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and having freed all the coast of the northern world from their servitude had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the countrey of *Guiana* from their invasion and conquest. I shewed them her majesties picture which they so admired and honored, as it had bene easie to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to *Guiana*, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her majesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as *Elizabeth*, the great princesse or greatest commaunder. This

<sup>1</sup> Decayed since Port of Spain became the capital.

done wee left *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, and returned to *Curiapan*, and having *Berreio* my prisoner I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knewe.

This *Berreio* is a gent. well descended, and had long served the Spanish king in *Millain*, *Naples*, the lowe Countries and else where, very valiant and liberall, and a Gent. of great assuredness, and of a great heart; I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had.

I sent Captaine *Whiddon* the yeare before to get what knowledge he could of *Guiana*, and the end of my journey at this time was to discover and enter the same, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the country is situate above 600 English miles further from the sea, then I was made beleeve it had beene, which afterward understanding to be true by *Berreio*, I kept it from the knowledge of my companie, who else woulde never have beene brought to attempt the same: of which 600 miles I passed 400,<sup>1</sup> leaving my shippes so farre from me at ancor in the sea, which was more of desire to performe that discovery, then of reason, especially having such poore and weake vessels to transport our selves in: for in the bottom of an old *Gallego* which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship bote of the Lyons whelpe, we caried 100 persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driven to lie in the raine and wether, in the open aire, in the burning sunne, and upon the hard bords, and to dresse our meat, and to carry al manner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestred and unsavory, that what with victuals being most fish, with the wette clothes of so many men thrust together and the heate of the sunne, I will undertake there was never any prison in England, that coulde be founde more unsavory and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeares before beene dieted and cared for in a sort farre differing.

If Captaine *Preston* had not beene perswaded that he should have come too late to *Trinidado* to have found us there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tarry for him there ere he could recover the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God he might have joyned with us, and that wee had entred the countrey but some ten daies sooner ere the rivers were overflowen, we had adventured either to have gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at least taken

<sup>1</sup> The actual distance covered by Raleigh was not more than 250 miles.

many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would have made a royall returne: But it pleased not God so much to favour me at this time: if it shalbe my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall performe more then ever was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*, or in *Peru* by *Pacaro* (Pizarro), whereof the one conquered the Empire of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guascar* (Huascar), and *Atabalipa* (Atahualpa), and whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, that Prince shalbe Lorde of more gold, and of a more beautiful Empire, and of more Cities and people, then eyther the king of Spayne, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubttes, and how this Empire of *Guiana* is become so populous, and adorned with so manie greate Cities, Townes, Temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it knowen, that the Emperour now raigning is descended from those magnificent Princes of *Peru* of whose large territories, of whose pollicies, conquests, edifices, and riches *Pedro de Cieza*, *Francisco Lopez*, and others have written large discourses: for when *Francisco Pacaro*, *Diego Almagro* and others conquered the said Empire of *Peru*, and had put to death *Atabalipa* sonne to *Guaynacapa*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly caused his eldest brother *Guascar* to be slaine, one of the younger sonnes of *Guaynacapa* fled out of *Peru*, and tooke with him many thousandes of those souldiers of the Empyre called *Oreiones*, and with those and many others which followed him, he vanquished al that tract and valley of *America* which is situate betweene the great rivers of *Amazones* and *Baraquona*, otherwise called *Orenoke* and *Maranion*.<sup>1</sup>

The Empyre of *Guiana* is directly east from *Peru* towards the sea, and lieth under the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of Golde then any parte of *Peru*, and as many or more great Cities then ever *Peru* had when it florished most: it is governed by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people observe the same religion, and

<sup>1</sup> 'The flight of Manco-Inca, brother of Atahualpa, to the east of the Cordilleras no doubt gave rise to the tradition of a new empire of the Incas in Dorado. It was forgotten that Caxamarca and Cuzco, two towns where the princes of that unfortunate family were at the time of their emigration, are situated to the south of the Amazon . . . four hundred leagues south-west of the pretended town of Manoa on the Lake Parima.' (Humboldt's *Personal Narrative*, Eng. trans., vol. v, note on p. 854.)

the same forme and pollicies in government as was used in *Peru*, not differing in any part: and as I have beene assured by such of the Spanyardes as have seene *Manoa* the emperiall Citie of *Guiana*, which the Spanyardes cal *el Dorado*, that for the greatnes, for the riches, and for the excellent seate, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is knowen to the Spanish nation: it is founded upon a lake of salt water of 200 leagues long like unto *mare caspiu*. And if we compare it to that of *Peru*, and but reade the report of *Francisco Lopez* and others, it wil seeme more then credible, and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120 chapter of *Lopez* in his generall historie of the *Indies*, wherein he discribeth the court and magnificence of *Guaynacapa*, auncestor to the Emperour of *Guiana*, whose very words are these. *Todo el servicio de su casa*, (etc., etc.) That is, 'all the vessels of his home, table, and kitchin were of gold and silver, and the meanest of silver and copper for strength and hardnes of the mettall. He had in his wardroppe hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beastes, birdes, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. Hee had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and silver, heapes of billets of golde that seemed woode, marked out to burne. Finally there was nothing in his countrey, whereof hee had not the counterfeat in gold: Yea and they say, the *Ingas* had a garden of pleasure in an iland neere *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselves, when they would take the ayre of the sea, which had all kind of garden hearbes, flowers and trees of Gold and Silver, an invention, and magnificence til then never seene: Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of silver and gold unwrought in *Cuzco* which was lost by the death of *Guascar*, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spayne.'

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Now although these reportes may seeme straunge, yet if wee consider the many millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into Spaine, wee may easely belceve the same, for wee finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey, the Spanish king vexeth all the Princes of Europe, and is become in a fewe yeares from a poore king of *Castile* the greatest monarke of this part of the worlde, and likelie

every day to increase, if other Princes forsloe the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this Empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now endaunger us, hee will then be unresistable. Such of the Spaniards as afterwarde endeavoured the conquest thereof (whereof there have beene many as shall bee declared heereafter) thought that this *Inga* (of whom this Emperor now living is descended) tooke his way by the river of *Amazones*, by that braunch which is called *Papamene*, for by that way followed *Oreliano* (by the commaundement of the Marquis *Pacarro* in the yeare 1542) whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called *Maragnon*, although *Andrew Thevet* doth affirm that between *Maragnon* and *Amazones* there are 120 leagues: but surè it is that those rivers have one head and beginning, and that *Maragnon* which *Thevet* describeth is but a braunch of *Amazones* or *Oreliano*, of which I will speake more in another place. It was also attempted by *Diego Ordace* but whether before *Oreliano* or after I knowe not: but it is now little less then 70 yeares since that *Ordace* a knight of the order of *Saint Jago* attempted the same: and it was in the yeare 1542 that *Oreliano* discovered the river of *Amazones*; but the first that ever sawe *Manoa* was *Johannes Martines* master of the munition to *Ordace*. At a porte called *Morequito* in *Guiana* there lyeth at this daie a great ancor of *Ordaces* shippe, and this port is some 300 miles within the lande, upon the great river of *Orenoque*.

I rested at this port foure daies: twentie daies after I left the shippes at *Curiapan*. The relation of this *Martynes* (who was the first that discovered *Manoa*) his successe and end is to be seene in the Chauncery of *Saint Juan de puerto rico*, whereof *Berreio* had a coppie, which appeared to be the greatest incouragement as well to *Berreio* as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. *Oreliano* after he failed of the discoverie of *Guiana* by the said river of *Amazones*, passed unto Spaine, and there obtained a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Ilands, and his fleet beeing severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. *Diego Ordace* followed the enterprize, and departed Spaine with 600 soldiers and 30 horse, who arriving on the coast of *Guiana* was slaine in a muteny with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part, in so much as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly

known what became of the said *Ordace*, untill *Berreio* found the ancor of his ship in the river of *Orenoque*; but it was supposed, and so it is written by *Lopez*, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversly conceived and reported. And heereof it came that *Martynes* entered so farre within the lande and arrived at that Citie of *Inga* the Emperor, for it chaunced that while *Ordace* with his armie rested at the port of *Morequito* (who was either the first or second that attempted *Guiana*), by some negligence, the whol store of powder provided for the service was set on fire, and *Martines* having the chief charge was condemned by the generall *Ordace* to be executed forthwith: *Martines* being much favored by the soldiers had al the meane possible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other sort then this: That he should be set into a *Canoe* alone without any victual, onely with his armes, and so turned loose into the great river: but it pleased God that the *Canoe* was carried down the streame, and that certain of the *Guianians* met it the same evening, and having not at any time seen any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried *Martynes* into the land to be wondered at, and so from towne to towne, untill he came to the great Citie of *Manoa*, the seate and residence of *Inga* the Emperor. The Emperor after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren *Guascar* and *Atabalipa* were vanquished by the Spaniards in *Peru*) and caused him to be lodged in his pallace, and well entertained; hee lived 7 moneths in *Manoa*, but not suffered to wander into the countrey any where: hee was also brought thither all the waie blindfold, led by the Indians, untill he came to the entrance of *Manoa* itselfe, and was 14 or 15 daies in the passage: he avowed at his death that he entred the city at *Noon*, and then they uncovered his face, and that he travelled al that daie til night thorow the Citie, and the next day from sun rising to sun setting, ere he came to the pallace of *Inga*. After that *Martynes* had lived 7 moneths in *Manoa*, and began to understand the language of the countrey, *Inga* asked him whether he desired to returne into his own countrey, or would willingly abide with him: but *Martynes* not desirous to stay, obtained the favour of *Inga* to depart, with whom he sent divers *Guianians* to conduct him to the river of *Orenoque* all loden with as much gold as they could carrie, which he gave to *Martines* at his departure: but when he was arrived neere the rivers side, the borderers which are called *Orenoqueponi* robbed

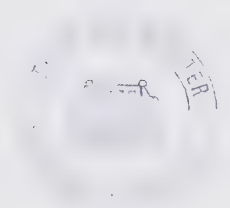
him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at warres with *Inga*, and not conquered) save only of two great bottels or gords, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought, which those *Orenoqueponi* thought had ben no other thing then his drink or meate or grain for foode with which *Martynes* had libertie to passe, and so in *Canoas* he fell down by the river of *Orenoque* to *Trinidado*, and from thence to *Marguerita*, and so to *Saint Juan de puerto rico*, where remaining a long tyme for passage into *Spayne* he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receaving the *Sacrament* at the handes of his Confessor, he delivered these thinges, with the relation of his travels, and also called for his *Calabazo* or gords of the gold beades which he gave to the Church and friers to be praied for. This *Martynes* was he that christened the citie of *Manoa*, by the name of *El Dorado*, and as *Berreio* informed me upon this occasion.<sup>1</sup> Those *Guianians* and also the borderers, and all others in that tract which I have seen are marveyulous great drunkardes, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solemne feasts when the Emperor carowseth with his Captaynes, tributories, and governours, the manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies annoynted al over with a kinde of white *Balsamum* (by them called *Curcai*) of which there is great plenty yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most pretious, wherof we have had good experience: when they are annointed all over, certaine servants of the Emperor having prepared gold made into a fine powder blow it thorow hollow canes upon their naked bodies, until they be al shining from the foote to the head, and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds and continue in drunkennes sometimes sixe or seven daies together: the same is also confirmed by a letter written into *Spaine* which was intercepted, which master *Robert Dudley* told me he had seen. Upon this sight and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the citie, the Images of gold in their Temples, the plates, armors, and shields of gold which they use in the wars, he called it *El Dorado*.

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[After giving a description of other previous attempts to discover

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Martines and his story see Introductory Note above, p. 232.





El Dorado, particularly those of Antonio de Berrio who did his utmost to prevent him from embarking on the venture, Raleigh relates the difficulties encountered by his boats in finding their way through intricate channels into the Orinoco.]

After we departed from the port of these *Ciawani*, we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third daie that we entred the river our *Galley* came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left 60 of our men to have inhabited like rookes upon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with lugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on: At fower daies ende wee fell into as goodlie a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directlie without windings and turnings then the other. But soone after the flood of the sea left us, and we enforced either by maine strength to row against a violent currant or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three daies worke, and therefore desired them to take paines, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the howers end. Everie daie we passed by goodlie branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east into *Amana*, but those I leave to the description in the *Chart* of discoverie, where everie one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three daies were overgone, our companies began to despaire, the weather being extreame hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the aire, and the currant against us every daie stronger than others. But we evermore commanded out Pilots to promise an end the next daie, and used it so long as we were driven to assure them from fower reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach: but so long we laboured as many daies were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drinke at all: and our men and our selves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withall whether we should ever performe it or no, the heat encreasing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had

most need of strength and abilitie, and howerlie the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ships bote of Captaine *Gifford*, and Captaine *Calfield*, had spent all their provisions, so as wee were brought into despaire and discomfort, had we not perswaded all the companie that it was but onlie one daies worke more to attaine the lande where we should be releevd of all we wanted, and if we returned that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the worlde would also laugh us to scorne. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eate, flowers and trees of that varietie as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals, we releevd our selves manie times with the fruits of the countrey, and sometimes with foule and fish: we sawe birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, greene, watched, and of all sorts both simple and mixt, as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some store of them with our fouling peeces, without which, having little or no bread and lesse drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old Pilot of the *Ciawani* (whom, as I said before, we tooke to redeeme *Ferdinando*,) told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the *Galley* at ancor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a towne of the *Arwacas* where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the countrey wine, and perswaded us that departing from the *Galley* at noone, we might returne ere night: I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barge, with eight musketiers, Captaine *Giffords* wherrie, with himselfe and foure musketiers, and Captaine *Calfield* with his wherrie and as manie, and so we entred the mouth of this river, and bicause we were perswaded that it was so neere, we tooke no victuall with us at all: when we had rowed three howres, we marvelled we sawe no signe of any dwelling, and asked the Pilot where the town was, he told us a little farther: after three howers more the *Sun* being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that waie to betraie us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from *Trinidado*, and also those that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demaunding where the place was, he tolde us but fower reaches

more: when he had rowed fower and fower, we saw no signe, and our poore water men even hart broken, and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the *Galley* neer forty miles.

At last we determined to hang the Pilot, and if we had well knowen the way backe againe by night, he had surely gone, but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safetie: for it was as darke as pitch, and the river began so to narrow it selfe and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swordes to cut a passage thorow those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to finde this towne hoping of a feast, bicause we made but a short breakfast aboard the *Galley* in the morning, and it was now eight a clock at night, and our stomacks began to gnaw apace: but whether it was best to returne or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the Pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian ever assured us that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one a clocke after midnight we saw a light, and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. When wee landed we found few people, for the Lord of that place was gone with divers *Canoas* above 400 miles of, upon a journey towards the head of *Orenoque* to trade for gold, and to buy women of the *Canibals*, who afterwards unfortunately passed by us as we rode at an anchor in the port of *Morequito* in the dark of night, and yet came so neer us, as his *Canoas* grated against our barges: he left one of his companie at the port of *Morequito*, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty yoong woomen, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine peeces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our *Galley*, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautifull countrie that ever mine eies beheld: and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, heare we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and stil as we rowed, the Deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had been used to a keepers call. Upon this river there were great store

of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bignes, but for *Lagartos* [alligators] it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the river of *Lagartos*, in their language. I had a *Negro*, a very proper yoong fellow, that leaping out of the *Galley* to swim in the mouth of this river was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those *Lagartos*. In the mean while our companies in the *Galley* thought we had beene all lost, (for we promised to returne before night) and sent the *Lions Whelps* ships bote with Captaine *Whiddon* to follow us up the river, but the next day after we had rowed up and downe some fower score miles, we returned, and went on our way, up the great river, and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, Captaine *Gifford* being before the *Galley*, and the rest of the botes, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied fower *Canoas* comming downe the river, and with no small joy caused his men to trie the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the 4 gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himselfe to the fastnes of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold of these, and so turned into some by-creeks, we knew not whither: those *Canoas* that were taken were loden with bread, and were bound for *Marguerita* in the west Indies, which those Indians (called *Arwacas*) purposed to carrie thither for exchange: But in the lesser, there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governour in *Trinidado*, and that we purposed to enter *Guiana*, came away in those *Canoas*: one of them was a *Cavallero*, as the Captaine of the *Arwacas* after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us next unto gold, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these *Canoas*, for now our men cried, let us go on, we care not how farre. After that Captaine *Gifford* had brought the two *Canoas* to the *Galley*, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the *Caboas* first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out Captaine *Gifford* and Captaine *Thyn* on one hand, and Captaine *Calfield* on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket, for I found in it, his quicksilver, saltpeter, and divers

things for the triall of mettals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those *Canoas* which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered 500 pound to what soldier soever could take one of those 3 Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe, for they put themselves into one of the small *Canoas*: and so while the greater *Canoas* were in taking, they escaped: but seeking after the Spaniards, we found the *Arwacas* hidden in the woods which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their *Canoas*: of which I kept the chieftest for a Pilot, and carried him with me to *Guiana*, by whom I understood, where and in what countries the Spaniards had labored for gold, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly as by no meanes we could abide the digging of anie mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the *White spar*, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, least if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for Pilots, so as both our selves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence, into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought to a more quantity (which I heare hath bin often objected) whosoever had seene or prooved the fury of that river after it began to arise, and had been a moneth and od daies as we were from hearing ought from our ships, leaving them meanly mand, above 400 miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountaines had been gold, or rich stones: And to say the truth all the branches and small rivers which fell into the *Orenoque* were raised with such speed, as if wee waded them over the shooes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homewarde the very same daie: and to stay to dig out gold with our nailes, had been *Opus laboris*, but not *Ingenij*: such a quantitie as would have served our turnes we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made, and that could have been the best profit of farther search or stay; for those

mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste, and I could have returned a good quantity of gold readie cast, if I had not shot at another marke, than present profit.

This *Arwacan* Pilot with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruell death, for the Spaniards to the end that none of the people in the passage towards *Guiana* or in *Guiana* itselfe might come to speech with us, perswaded all the nations, that we were men eaters, and *Canibals*: but when the poore men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meate, and to everie one some thing or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wives and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this manner by strength. But I protest before the majestie of the living God, that I neither know nor beleewe, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or other wise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, and excellently favored which came among us without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got us more love among them then this usage, for I suffred not anie man to take from anie of the nations so much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course, so contrarie to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things) drew them to admire hir Majestie, whose commandment I told them it was, and also woonderfully to honour our nation. But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoile and stealing, when we came to their houses, which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or els it was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much woondred at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at *Trinidado*, for they were before resolved, that no nation of *Christians* durst abide their presence, and they woondred more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that hir Majesties army and fleete had given them of late yeers in their owne countries.

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[Raleigh goes on to describe the voyage up-stream and the manners of the various tribes encountered, until the great cataract of the tributary Caroni was reached. At this point he decided for various reasons to turn back. After parting with the faithful old chieftain Topiawari, who promised to create a confederation of all the neighbouring tribes against Raleigh's return, the English made a rapid descent to their ships on the coast.]

I wil enter no further into discourse of their maners, laws and customes: and because I have not my selfe seene the cities of *Inga*, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in *Guiana*, as his auncestors did in *Peru*, which were for their riches and rarenes most marveilous and exceeding al in *Europe*, and I thinke of the world, *China* excepted, which also the Spanyards (which I had) assured me to be of trueth, as also the nations of the borderers, who being but *Salvajes*, to those of the Inland, do cause much treasure to be buried with them, for I was enformed of one of the *Cassiqui* of the valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him a little before our arrivall, a chaire of Golde most curiously wrought, which was made eyther in *Macureguarai* adjoyning, or in *Manoa*: But if wee shoulde have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had been taught better, and have digged uppe their graves, wee had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her majesty should eyther accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing shoulde be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if *Peru* had so many heapes of Golde, whereof those *Ingas* were Princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in *Manoa*, hath the same humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of Golde, within his territorie, then all *Peru*, and the West Indies.

For the rest, which my selfe have seene I will promise these things that follow and knowe to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many armes and branches leading to severall countries, and provinces, above 2,000 miles east and west, and 800 miles south and north: and of these, the most eyther rich in Gold, or in other marchandizes. The common soldier shal here fight for gold, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote brode,

wheras he breaketh his bones in other warres for provant and penury. Those commanders and Chieftaines, that shoote at honour, and abundance shal find there more rich and bewtiful cities, more temples adorned with golden Images, more sepulchers filled with treasure, then either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pazzaro* in *Peru*: and the shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the Inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, then *Guiana* doth. It hath so many plaines, cleare rivers, abundance of Phesants, Partridges, Quailles, Rayles, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deare of all sortes, Porkes, Hares, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, and divers other sortes of beastes, eyther for chace, or foode. It hath a kinde of beast called *Cama* or *Anta*, as bigge as an English beefe, and in greate plenty.

To speake of the severall sortes of every kinde, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omitte them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot bee equalled by any region eyther in the east or west. Moreover the countrey is so healthfull, as 100 persons and more, which lay (without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of *Tortugas*, of *Lagartos*, and of al sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open ayre every night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found anie *Callentura*, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so nere the Equinoctiall line.

Where there is any store of gold, it is in effect nedeles to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the south part of the river, great quantities of Brasill woode, and of divers berries, that die a most perfect crimson and Carnation: And for painting, al *France*, *Italy*, or the east Indies yeild none such; For the more the skyn is washed, the fayrer the cullour appeareth, and with which, even those brown and tawnie women spot themselves, and cullour their cheekes.

All places yeilde abundance of Cotten, of sylke, of *Balsamum*, and of those kindes most excellent, and never known in Europe: of all

sortes of gummes, of *Indian* pepper: and what else the countries may afforde within the land wee knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soil besides is so excellent and so full of rivers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the west Indies hath.

The navigation is short, for it may bee sayled with an ordinarie wind in six weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, Enimies coast, rocks, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West indies, and all other places, wee are subject unto, as the channell of *Bahama*, comming from the West Indies, can not be passed in the Winter, and when it is at the best, it is a perillous and fearefull place: The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the *Bermudas* a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

This verie yeare there were seventeen sayle of Spanish shippes lost in the channell of *Bahama*, and the great *Phillip* like to have sunk at the *Bermudas* was put back to Saint *Juan de puerto rico*. And so it falleth out in that Navigation every yere for the most parte, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of the yere to leave *England*, is best in July, and the summer in *Guiana* is in October, November, December, Januarie, February, and March, and then the shippes may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into *England* in June, so as they shall never be subject to winter weather, eyther comming, going, or staying there, which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragments that can be thought on, having (as I have done) tasted in this voyage by the west Indies so many Calmes, so much heate, such outrageous gustes, fowle weather, and contrarie windes.

To conclude, *Guiana* is a countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neither sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graves have not beene opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath never been entred by any armie of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two fortes be builded in one of the Provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no shippe can passe up, but within a Pikes length of the Artillerie, first of the one, and afterwarde of the other: which

two fortes wilbe a sufficient Guard both to the *Empire* of *Inga*, and to an hundred other severall kingdomes, lying, within the said River, even to the citie of *Quito* in *Peru*.

There is therefore great difference betweene the easines of the conquest of *Guiana*, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: *Guiana* hath but one entraunce by the sea (if it have that) for any vessels to burden, so as whosoever shall first possesse it, it shall bee founde unaccessable for anie Enimie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or *Canoas*, or els in flatte bottomed boats, and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke 200 miles together upon the rivers of such entraunce, as a mouse cannot sitte in a boat unhit from the banke. By land it is more impossible to approch, for it hath the strongest situation of anie region under the Sunne, and is so environed with impassable mountaynes on everie side, as it is impossible to victuall anye companie in the passage, which hath beene well proved by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of *Peru* have never left five yerres free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some way into it, and yet of 23 severall gentlemen, knights, and noble men, there was never anie that knewe which way to leade an armie by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, anything neere the said countrie. *Oreliano*, of which the river of *Amazones* taketh name was the first, and *Don Anthonio de Berreo* (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether hee himsele or any of his, yet knowe the best waie into the saide Empyre. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength bee formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or galleys buylt, and furnished upon the river within: The west Indies hath many portes, watring places, and landings, and nearer then 300 miles to *Guiana*, no man can harbor a ship, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in hast, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empyre is guarded, and what soever companies shalbe afterwarde planted within the land, although in twenty severall provinces, those shall bee able all to reunite themselves upon any occasion eyther by the way of one river, or bee able to march by land without eyther wood, bog, or mountaine: whereas in the west Indies there are fewe townes, or provinces that can succour or re-

lieve one the other, eyther by land or sea : By lande the countries are eyther desart, mounteynous, or strong Enemies : By sea, if any man invade to the Eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turne against the brize and easterwind, besides the Spanyardes are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in *Nueva Hispania* : the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poisoned prickels, the sandy and deepe waies in the vallies, the smothering heate and ayre, and want of water in other places, are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neyther have any place to friende adjoining) doe serve them in steade of good armes and great multitudes.

The west Indies were first offered her Majesties Grandfather by *Columbus* a straunger, in whome there might be doubt of deceit, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty then an ordinary subject, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I have receaved to abuse her highnes, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is already discovered, many nations won to her Majesties love and obedience, and those Spanyards which have latest and longest labored about the conquest beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and Cheiftaines that want employment, and the charge wilbe onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them : for after the first or second yere I doubt not but to see in London a Contratation house of more receipt for *Guiana*, then there is nowe in Civil (Seville) for the West Indies.

And I am resolved that if there were but a smal army a foote in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa* the chiefe Citie of Inga, he would yeeld her Majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearely, as should both defende all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he woulde besides pay a garrison of 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations : For he cannot but know, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great uncles *Guascar* and *Atibalipa* sonnes to *Guanacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, were (while they contended for the Empyre) beaten out by the Spanyardes, and that both of late yeares, and

ever since the said conquest, the Spanyardes have sought the passages and entry of his countrey: and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he wil be brought to tribute with great gladnes, if not, hee hath neyther shotte nor Iron weapon in all his Empyre, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that *Berreio* confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Majesty of God to be true) that there was found among prophecies in *Peru* (at such time as the Empyre was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empyre, that from *Inglatierra* those *Ingas* shoulde be againe in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said Conquerors. And I hope, as wee with these fewe handes have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said countrey, so her Majesty will give order for the rest, and eyther defend it, and hold it as a tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Emprise of the same. For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall bee greatest, and if the king of Spayne enjoy it, he will become unresistable. Her Majesty heereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of al nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the south border of *Guiana* reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the *Amazones*, those women shall heereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbors, but also to invade and conquere so great Empyres and so farre removed.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is king of al kings and Lorde of Lords, will put it into her hart which is Lady of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I wil judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves.

VIII

DUTCH AND ENGLISH IN THE  
EAST INDIES

§ I. *The First Voyage made to East India by Master  
James Lancaster.*

§ II. *Dutch Proceedings at Amboyna.*



# THE FIRST VOYAGE MADE TO EAST INDIA

## BY MASTER JAMES LANCASTER

### *Introductory Note.*

OF the early career of James Lancaster very little is known. He was brought up among the Portuguese, and when he came to manhood took a prominent part as a gentleman-adventurer in their oriental trade. He seems also to have engaged in voyages to the Spanish Main. Possibly the Portuguese became suspicious of him as a foreigner who might betray their commercial secrets and deprived him of his rights, for in later years he was wont to speak of them as a people devoid of faith or truth. At any rate he returned to England before war broke out with Spain, and in 1588 commanded the ship *Edward Bonaventure* under Sir Francis Drake against the Armada. The victory gained over Spanish sea-power, the capture of the Portuguese East-Indiaman the *San Philippe*, and the adventures in India of Ralph Fitch and others of the Levant Company all combined to impel the English to open up an oriental trade of their own. When in 1589 a number of London merchants obtained the Queen's permission to send an expedition to the East Indies to gather information and lay the foundations of future trade, one of the obvious leaders to be chosen was Captain Lancaster, who knew more about the East and the way thither than almost any of his countrymen. Accordingly on the 10th of April 1591, Lancaster set sail from Plymouth in command again of the *Edward Bonaventure*. The *Penelope* was commanded by George Raymond the leader of the expedition, and the *Merchant Royal* was in the charge of Abraham Kendal. After touching at the Cape Verde Islands the expedition lay for a month becalmed near the Equator and lost many men from scurvy in consequence. A Portuguese caravel was captured, well stored with wine, oil, 'and olives, and divers other necessities fit for our voyage, which were better to us than gold'. Soon afterwards, however, the tale of disaster began. Violent hurricanes and bad weather drove them out of their course, and disease reappeared among the crews. The Cape of Good Hope was not reached until July 28th, and even then their troubles had only begun. Contrary winds and their own extreme weakness compelled them to put into Saldanha Bay for rest

and to procure fresh meat. Early in September the *Merchant Royal* was sent home with fifty sick cases on board, and the remaining two vessels proceeded round the Cape. On the 14th another violent storm arose during which the *Penelope* sank with all hands, and two days later the *Edward* itself was struck by lightning which killed and injured great numbers. Thus Lancaster's own sorely battered crew was all that was left of the promising expedition which had left England five months before.

After losing some thirty men in a fight with the natives of the Comoro Islands, Zanzibar was reached, where good supplies of food were obtained through Lancaster's friendly treatment of the people. More unfavourable winds were encountered so that Cape Comorin was not doubled until the end of May 1592. Lancaster had intended to sail on at once through the Straits of Malacca to the China Sea, but by the time that Pulo Penang had been reached only thirty men and a boy were left of the crew: and of these eleven were sick, and no more than seven or eight were efficient sailors. Yet even in this weak condition they were able to capture a number of valuable Portuguese ships including a great galleon of 700 tons. Lancaster continued his privateering cruise until about the 3rd of December, when Ceylon was reached. He himself, though seriously ill, was prepared for another year of it, but the weary crew mutinied and insisted on returning home. Their subsequent adventures are an epic in themselves. After rounding the Cape and reaching St. Helena, Lancaster attempted to sail direct for England. But he was again becalmed for five weeks. Discontent broke out again, and in despair of reaching home in such a condition the commander made for the West Indies in search of fresh victuals. Afraid of seeking help from the Spaniards, they wandered about the Carribean for five months, living from hand to mouth. Food was at last obtained from the French on the little island of Mona near Porto Rico. It was then that fate delivered her last blow. While Lancaster and eighteen were ashore trying to collect the provisions for the homeward voyage, the *Edward* with only five men and a boy on board was blown out to sea, and being unable to return, sailed for England, where she arrived safely. Lancaster and his companions lived on the verge of starvation for a month until picked up by a French vessel which took them to San Domingo. Thence by way of Dieppe they journeyed at last to England, which was reached on 24 May 1594.

Even more important than the rich booty which the *Edward* had brought home, was the fact that Lancaster with a handful of disease-stricken men had defied the Portuguese power in the East with impunity. The direct result was the formation of the East India Company and Lancaster's famous voyage of 1601 which is reprinted below.

Meanwhile in the summer of 1594 the merchants of London fitted out three ships and put them under Lancaster's command for the further plundering of the Portuguese. Setting sail in October for Pernambuco they captured many Spanish and Portuguese vessels on the way. Pernambuco itself was taken with a vast accumulation of merchandize from the East Indies and Brazil. This horde of wealth which was successfully brought home in the following July still further encouraged the London merchants to press forward with their Oriental schemes.

On his return from the East Indies in 1603 James Lancaster was knighted and then settled down to a life on shore. As a director he assisted in organising a new Company and directed all their early voyages both to the East and the North-West. When he died in 1618 the East India Company was firmly established. In short, he, more than any other one man, was responsible for the opening up of the Far East to English commercial enterprise.



THE FIRST VOYAGE MADE TO EAST INDIA  
BY MASTER JAMES LANCASTER<sup>1</sup>

*The preparation to this Voyage, and what befell them in the way till they departed from Saldania.*

THE Merchants of London, in the yeare of our Lord 1600, joyned together, and made a stocke of seventie two thousand pounds, to bee employed in Ships and Merchandizes, for the discovery of a Trade in the East-India, to bring into this Realme, Spices and other Commodities. They bought foure great Ships to bee employed in this Voyage: the *Dragon*, of the burthen of six hundred tunne, the *Hector*, of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, the *Ascention*, of the burthen of two hundred and threescore tunnes. These ships they furnished with men, victuals and munition for twentie monethes, and sent in them, in Merchandise and Spanish money, to the value of seven and twentie thousand pounds: all the rest of their stock was spent and consumed about the shippes, and other necessities appertayning to them: with money lent to the Mariners and Saylers before-hand, that went upon the Voyage.

The Merchants were Suters to her Majestie, who gave them her friendly Letters of commendation, written to divers Princes of India, offering to enter into a league of Peace and Amitie with them, the Copies of which Letters shall hereafter appeare in their places. And because no great action can well be carried, and accomplished without an absolute authoritie of Justice: Shee granted to the Generall of their Fleet Master James Lancaster, for his better command and government, a Commission of Martiall Law.

The said Master James Lancaster the Generall, was placed in the *Dragon*, the greatest shippe being Admirall: Master John Middleton Captaine in the *Hector*, the Vice-admirall: Master William Brand, chiefe Governour in the *Ascention*: and Master John Heyward in the *Susan*: and more in every of the said ships, three Merchants to succeed one the other, if any of them should be taken away by death.

These ships were readie and departed from Wolwich in the River of Thames, the thirteenth of February after the English

<sup>1</sup> *Hakluytus Posthumus*, vol. i, pp. 147-62.

accompt, 1600. with foure hundred and fourescore men in them. In the *Dragon*, two hundred and two men. In the *Hector*, an hundred an eight. In the *Ascention*, fourescore and two. And in the *Susan*, fourescore and eight. The *Guest*, a ship of a hundred and thirtie tunnes, was added as a Victualler.

These ships stayed so long in the River of Thames, and in the Downes for want of wind, that it was Easter day before they arrived at Dartmouth, where they spent five or sixe dayes in taking in their bread and certaine other provisions appointed for them. From thence they departed the eighteenth of Aprill, 1601. and road in Tor Bay, till the twentieth in the morning. While wee roade there, the Generall sent aboard all the shippes, instructions, for their better company keeping, at their comming to the Seas: and further gave directions, if any of the Fleet should bee separated the one from the other, by stormes of wind, tempests, or other casualties, what places to repaire unto, for their meeting together againe.

The second of Aprill, [*sic*] 1601. the wind came faire and wee hoysed our Anchors, and departed out of Tor Bay, directing our course towards the Ilands of the Canaria. The wind holding faire, the fift of May in the morning, we had sight of Alegranza, the Northermost Iland of the Canarias, and directed our course betweene Forteventura, and the Grand Canaria: and comming to the South part of the Grand Canaria, thinking to water there, wee fell into the Calmes, which proceed by reason of the high-land that lyeth so neere the Seaside.

The seventh of May, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, wee departed from the Grand Canaria, having the wind at North-east, and we directed our course South-west by South, and South South-west, till wee came into  $21\frac{1}{2}$ . degrees. From the eleventh to the twentieth, our course was for the most part South, till we came into eight degrees: the wind being alwayes Northerly, and North-east. In this heighth, we found the Calmes and contrarie winds, which uppon this coast of Ginney, at this time of the yeare, are very familiar with many sudden gustes of wind, stormes, thunder and lightening, very fearefull to be seene and dangerous to the shippes: unlesse a diligent care be had, that all sayles be stricken downe upon the sudden, perceiving the ayre never so little to change or alter. And yet many times, although the Masters of ships were carefull, and looked unto it with great diligence: the suddennesse was such,



A DUTCH EAST INDIAMAN

From an engraving by Hollar in the British Museum



that it could hardly be prevented. From the twentieth of May, till the one and twentieth of June, wee lay the most part becalmed, and with contrarie winds at South, and turning up and downe with this contrary wind, with much adoe, we got into two degrees of the Northside of the Line: where wee espyed a ship, to the which, the Generall gave chase, commanding all the rest of the ships to follow him: and by two of the clocke in the afternoone, we had fet her up and tooke her. She was of the Citie of Viana in Portugall, and came from Lisbone in the companie of two Carrackes, and three Gallions bound for the East-India, which ships she had lost at Sea. The three Gallions were ships of warre, and went to keepe the Coast of the East-India, from being traded with other Nations.

Wee tooke out of her an hundred sixe and fortie Buts of Wine, an hundred threescore and sixteene Jarres of Oyle, twelve Barrels of Oyle, and five and fiftie Hogsheads and Fats of Meale, which was a great helpe to us in the whole Voyage after. The Generall divided these Victualls indifferently to all the ships, to every one his proportion without partialitie.

The last of June about mid-night, we doubled the Line, and lost the sight of the North-star, having the wind at South-east, and we held our course South South-west, and doubled the Cape of Saint Augustine some sixe and twentie leagues to the Eastwards. The twentieth of July, we were shot into nineteene degrees, fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line, the wind inlargeing daily to the East-ward. Here wee discharged the *Guest*, the ship that went a long with us to carry the Provisions, that our foure ships could not take in in England. After wee had discharged her, we tooke her Masts, Sayles and Yards, and brake downe her higher buildings for fire-wood, and so left her floting in the Sea: and followed our course to the South-ward. The foure and twentieth of July, we passed the Tropick of Capricorne, the wind being North-east by North, we holding our course East South-east. Now, by reason of our long being under the Line, (which proceeded of our late comming out of England, for the time of the yeare was too farre spent by six or seven weekes, to make a quicke Navigation) many of our men fell sicke. Therefore the nine and twentieth of July being in  $28\frac{1}{2}$ . degrees, hee wrote a remembrance to the Governour of each ship, either to fetch Saldania or Saint Helena for refreshing.

Thus following on our course, the first of August we came into

the height of thirtie degrees, South of the Line: at which time we met the South-west wind, to the great comfort of all our people. For, by this time, very many of our men were fallen sicke of the Scurvey in all our ships, and unlesse it were in the Generals ship only, the other three were so weake of men, that they could hardly handle the sayles. This wind held faire, till wee came within two hundred and fiftie leagues of the Cape Buena Esperanza, and then came cleane contrarie against us to the East: and so held some fifteene or sixteene dayes to the great discomfort of our men. For now the few whole men we had, beganne also to fall sicke, so that our weaknesse of men was so great, that in some of the ships, the Merchants tooke their turnes at the Helme: and went into the top to take in the top-sayles, as the common Mariners did. But God (who sheweth mercy in all distresses) sent us a faire wind againe, so that the ninth of September wee came to Saldania, where the Generall before the rest bare in, and came to an anchor, and hoysed out his boats to helpe the rest of the ships.

For now the state of the other three was such, that they were hardly able to let fall an Anchor, to save themselves withall. The Generall went aboard of them, and carryed good store of men, and hoysed out their Boats for them, which they were not able to doe of themselves. And the reason why the Generals men stood better in health then the men of other ships, was this: he brought to Sea with him certaine Bottles of the Juice of Limons, which hee gave to each one, as long as it would last, three spoonfuls every morning fasting: not suffering them to eate any thing after it till noone. This Juice worketh much the better, if the partie keepe a short Dyet, and wholly refraine salt meate, which salt meate, and long being at the Sea is the only cause of the breeding of this Disease. By this meanes the Generall cured many of his men, and preserved the rest: so that in his ship (having the double of men that was in the rest of the ships) he had not so many sicke, nor lost so many men as they did, which was the mercie of God to us all. After the Generall had holpen the rest of the ships to hoysed out their Boats, they began all to be greatly comforted. Then, he himselfe went presently a-land to seeke some refreshing for our sicke and weake men, where hee met with certaine of the Countrey people, and gave them divers trifles, as Knives, and peeces of old Iron, and such like, and made signes to them to bring him downe Sheepe and Oxen. For he spake to them

in the Cattels Language, which was never changed at the confusion of Babell, which was Moath for Oxen, and Kine, and Baa for Sheepe: which Language the people understood very well without any Interpreter. After hee had sent the people away very well contented with their presents, and kind usage order was presently given, that certaine of every ships companie should bring their sayles a-land, and build Tents with them for their sicke men: and also to make fortifications of defence, if by any occasion the people should take any conceit of offence against us, and thereby offer us any violence. And the Generall prescribed an order for buying and selling with the people, which was, that at such times as they should come downe with the Cattell, only five or sixe men, appointed for that purpose, should goe to deale with them and the rest (which should never bee under thirtie Muskets and Pikes) should not come neere the Market, by eight or ten score at the neerest: and alwayes to stand in their ranke in a readinesse, with their Muskets in their Rests, what occasion soever should befall. And this order was most strictly observed and kept, that no man durst once goe to speake with any of the people without speciall leave, and I take this to be the cause, why we lived in so great friendship and amitie with them, contrary to that which lately had befallen the Hollanders, which had five or sixe of their men slaine by their treacherie.

The third day after our comming into this Bay of Saldania, the people brought downe Beefes and Muttons, which we bought of them for pieces of old Iron hoopes, as two pieces of eight inches a piece, for an Oxe, and one piece of eight inches for a Sheepe, with which they seemed to be well contented. Within ten or twelve dayes, we bought of them a thousand Sheepe, and two and fortie Oxen, and might have bought many more, if wee would. Now within twelve dayes they ceased to bring us any more Cattell, but the people many times came downe to us afterward, and when we made them signes for more Sheepe, they would point us to those wee had bought, which the Generall caused to be kept grazing upon the Hilles about our Tents, and was the cause (as we judged) they thought we would have inhabited there, and therefore brought us no more. But (God be thanked) we were well stored to satisfie our need, and might then, very well forbear buying. These Oxen are full as bigge as ours, and were very fat, and the sheepe many of them much bigger, but of a very hairie wooll, yet, of exceeding good flesh,

fat and sweet, and to our thinking, much better then our sheepe in England. The people of this place are all of a tawnie colour, of a reasonable stature, swift of foot, and much given to picke and steale: their speech is wholly uttered through the throate, and they clocke with their tongues in such sort, that in seven weekes, which wee remained heere in this place, the sharpest wit among us, could not learne one word of their language: and yet the people would soon understand any signe wee made to them.

While wee stayed heere in this Bay, wee had so royall refreshing, that all our men recovered their health and strength, onely foure or five excepted. But, before our comming in, and in this place, wee lost out of all our Ships one hundred and five men, and yet wee made account, wee were stronger at our departure out of this Bay, then wee were at our comming out of England, our men were so well inured to the Southern Climates.

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*Their entertainment and trade at Achen.*

The nine and twentieth of May, we set saile from this Iland of Sombrero, and the second of June we had sight of the land of Sumatra, and the fifth of June we came to anchor in the Roade of Achen some two miles off the Citie. Where we found sixteene or eightene saile of shippes of divers Nations, some Goserats, some of Bengala, some of Calicut, called Malabares, some Pegues, and some Patanyes, which came to trade there.

There came aboard of us two Holland Merchants, which had beene left there behind their shippes, to learne the language, and manners of the Country. These told us, we should be very welcome to the King, who was desirous to intertaine strangers: and that the Queene of England was very famous in those parts, by reason of the warres, and great victories, which she had gotten against the King of Spaine. The same day, the Generall sent Captaine John Middleton Captaine of the Vice-Admirall, with foure or five Gentlemen, to attend upon him to the King: to declare unto him, that he was sent from the Generall of those shippes, who had a message, and a letter from the most famous Queene of England, to the most worthy King of Achen, and Sumatra. And that it would please his royall Majesty to give to the said messenger, audience to deliver his message, and letter: with a sufficient warrant for the safety of him and his people

according to the law of Nations, holden in that behalfe. This messenger was very kindly entertained by the King, who when he had delivered his message, gladly granted his request, and communed with him about many questions: and after, caused a royall banquet to be made him. And at his departure gave a robe, and a Tucke of Calico wrought with Gold, which is the manner of the Kings of this place, to those he will grace with his speciall favour. And withall, sent his commendations to the Generall, willing him to stay one day aboard his ships, to rest himselfe after his comming from the disquiet seas: and the next day to come a land, and have kind audience, and franke leave, with as great assurance, as if he were in the kingdome of the Queene his Mistris. And, if he doubted of any thing of this his royall word, such honourable pledges should be sent him, for his further assurance, as he should rest very well satisfied therewith.

The third day, the Generall went a land very well accompanied, with some thirtie men or more, to attend upon him. And first at his landing, the Holland Merchants met him, and carried him home to their house, as it was appointed. For as yet, the Generall would make choyce of no house of his owne, till he had spoken with the King: but stayed at the Hollanders house, till a Noble man came from the King, who saluted the Generall very kindly, and declared, that he came from his Majestie, and represented his person. Then, he demaunded the Queenes letter of the Generall, which he refused to deliver: saying, he would deliver it to the King himselfe. For it was the order of Embassadours, in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the Princes owne hands: and not to any that did represent the Kings person. So, he demaunded to see the superscription, which the Generall shewed him, and he read the same, and looked very earnestly upon the seale, tooke a note of the superscription, and did likewise write her Majesties name: and then, with courtesie tooke his leave, and repaired to the Court, to tell the King what had passed. Who presently sent sixe great Elephants, with many Trumpets, Drums, and Streamers, with much people, to accompany the Generall to the Court: so that the presse was exceeding great. The biggest of these Elephants was about thirteene, or foureteene foote high, which had a small Castle, like a Coach upon his back, covered with Crimson Velvet. In the middle thereof, was a great Bason of Gold, and a peece of Silke exceeding

richly wrought to cover it: under which her Majesties letter was put. The Generall was mounted upon another of the Elephants: some of his attendants rode, others went a foote. But, when he came to the Court gate, there a Noble man stayed the Generall, till he had gone in, to know the Kings further pleasure. But, presently the said Nobleman returned, and willed the Generall to enter in. And when the Generall came to the Kings presence, he made his obeysance after the manner of the Country: declaring that hee was sent from the most mightie Queene of England, to congratulate with his Highnesse, and treat with him concerning a peace and amitie with his Majestie, if it pleased him to entertaine the same. And therewithall began to enter into further discourse which the King brake off, saying: I am sure you are weary of the long travaile you have taken, I would have you to sit downe and refresh your selfe. You are very welcome, and heere you shall have whatsoever you will in any reasonable conditions demaund, for your Princesse sake: for she is worthy of all kindnesse, and franke conditions, being a Princesse of great Noblenesse, for Fame speaketh so much of her. The Generall perceiving the Kings mind, delivered him the Queenes letter, which he willingly received: and delivered the same to a Noble man standing by him. Then the Generall proceeded to deliver him his present, which was a Bason of Silver, with a Fountaine in the midst of it, weighing two hundred and five ounces, a great standing Cup of Silver, a rich Looking-Glasse, an Head-peece with a Plume of Feathers, a case of very faire Dagges, a rich wrought embroidered Belt to hang a Sword in, and a Fan of Feathers. All these were received in the Kings presence, by a Nobleman of the Court: onely, he tooke into his owne hand, the Fanne of Feathers: and caused one of his Women to fanne him therewithall, as a thing, that most pleased him of all the rest. The Generall was commanded to sit downe in the Kings presence, as the manner is, upon the ground: where was a very greate banquet provided. All the dishes, in which the meate was served in, were, either of pure Gold, or of another Mettall, which (among them) is of great estimation, called Tambaycke, which groweth of Gold and Brasse together. In this banquet, the King (as he sate aloft in a Gallery, about a fathome from the ground) dranke oft to the Generall in their Wine, which they call Racke. This Wine is made of Rice, and is as strong as any of our Aquavitae: a little will serve to bring one asleepe. The Generall, after the first

draught, dranke either water mingled therewithall, or pure water, the King gave him leave so to doe: for the Generall craved his pardon, as not able to drinke so strong drinke. After this feast was done, the King caused his Damosels to come forth, and dance, and his Women to play Musicke unto them: and these Women were richly attired, and adorned with Bracelets and Jewels: and this they account a great favour, for these are not usually seene of any, but such as the King will greatly honour. The King also gave unto the Generall, a fine white Robe of Calico, richly wrought with Gold, and a very faire girdle of Turkey worke, and two Creses, which are a kind of Daggers, all which a Noble man put on in the Kings presence: and in this manner he was dismissed the Court, with very great curtesies, and one sent along with him, to make choyce of an house in the Citie, where the Generall thought most meete. But, at this time he refused this kindnesse, and rather chose to goe aboard his Ships: and left the King to consider of the Queenes Letter, the tenor whereof, hereafter followeth.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England,  
France and Ireland, defendresse of the Christian  
Faith and Religion.

*To the great and mightie King of Achem, &c. in the Iland of Sumatra,  
our loving Brother, greeting.*

The eternall God, of his divine knowledge and providence, hath so disposed his blessings, and good things of his Creation, for the use and nourishment of Mankind, in such sort: that notwithstanding they growe in divers Kingdomes, and Regions of the World: yet, by the industrie of Man (stirred up by the inspiration of the said omnipotent Creator) they are dispersed into the most remote places of the universall World. To the end, that even therein may appeare unto all Nations, his marvelous workes, hee having so ordained, that the one land may have need of the other. And thereby, not only breed intercourse and exchange of their Merchandise and Fruits, which doe superabound in some Countries, and want in others: but also ingender love, and frendship betwixt all men, a thing naturally divine.

Whereunto wee having respect (Right noble King) and also to the honorable, and truly royall fame, which hath hither stretched, of

your Highnesse humane and noble usage of Strangers, which repaire into that your Kingdome, in love and peace, in the Trade of Merchandise, paying your due Customes. Wee have beene mooved to give Licence unto these our Subjects, who with commendable and good desires, saile to visite that your Kingdome: Notwithstanding, the dangers and miseries of the Sea, naturall to such a Voyage, which (by the grace of God) they will make, beeing the greatest that is to be made in the World: and to present trafficke unto your Subjects. Which their offer, if it shall bee accepted by your Highnesse, with such love and grace, as wee hope for, of so great and magnanimous a Prince: Wee, for them, doe promise, that in no time hereafter, you shall have cause to repent thereof, but rather to rejoyce much. For their dealing shall be true, and their conversation sure, and wee hope, that they will give so good prooffe thereof, that this beginning shall be a perpetuall confirmation, of love betwixt our Subjects on both parts: by carrying from us, such things and merchandise as you have need of there. So that your Highnesse shall be very well served, and better contented, then you have heretofore beene with the Portugals and Spaniards, our Enemies: who only, and none else, of these Regions, have frequented those your, and the other Kingdomes of the East. Not suffering that the other Nations should doe it, pretending themselves to be Monarchs, and absolute Lords of all these Kingdomes and Provinces: as their owne Conquest and Inheritance, as appeareth by their loftie Title in their writings. The contrarie whereof, hath very lately appeared unto us, and that your Highnesse, and your royall Familie, Fathers, and Grandfathers, have (by the grace of God, and their Valour) knowne, not onely to defend your owne Kingdomes: but also to give Warres unto the Portugals, in the Lands which they possesse: as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575. under the conduct of your valiant Captaine, Ragamacota, with their great losse and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse Crowne and Kingdome.

And now, if your Highnesse shall be pleased, to accept into your Favour and Grace, and under your royall Protection and Defence, these our Subjects, that they may freely doe their businesse now, and continue yeerely hereafter: This Bearer, who goeth chiefe of this Fleet of foure Ships, hath order (with your Highnesse Licence) to leave certaine Factors, with a settled House of Factorie in your Kingdome, untill the going thither of another Fleet, which shall



A DUTCH MAP OF 1600, SHOWING THE ROUTE TO THE EAST INDIES



goe thither upon the returne of this. Which left Factors, shall learne the Language, and customes of your Subjects, whereby, the better and more lovingly to converse with them.

And the better to confirme this Confederacie, and Friendship betwixt us, wee are contented, if your Highnesse be so pleased, that you cause Capitulations reasonable to be made: and that this Bearer doe the like in Our name. Which wee promise to performe royally, and entirely, as well herein, as in other Agreements and Arguments which he will communicate unto you: to whom, wee doe greatly desire your Highnesse to give intire faith and credite, and that you will receive him, and the rest of his companie, under your Royall protection, favouring them in what shall be Reason and Justice. And we promise on our behalfe, to re-answere in like degree, in all that your Highnesse shall have need, out of these our Kingdomes. And wee desire, that your Highnesse would be pleased to send us answere, by this Bearer of this our Letter, that wee may thereby understand of your Royall acceptance of the Friendship and League, which wee offer, and greatly desire, may have an happie beginning, with long yeeres to continue.

At his next going to the Court, hee had long Conference with the King, concerning the effect of the Queenes Letter, where-with the King seemed to be very well pleased, and said: if the contents of that Letter came from the heart, he had good cause to thinke well thereof. And, for the League, Her Majestie was desirous to hold with him, hee was well pleased therewith. And, for the further demands the Generall made from Her, in respect of the Merchants trafficke: he had committed all those points to two of his Noblemen, to conferre with him, and promised, what her Majestie had requested, should by all good meanes bee granted. With this contented answere, after another Banquet appointed for the Generall, he departed the Court. And the next day, he sent to those Noblemen, the King had named to him, to know their appointed time, when they would sit upon this Conference. The one of these Noblemen was the chiefe Bishop of the Realme, a man of great estimation with the King, and all the people: and so he well deserved, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was one of the most ancient Nobilitie, a man of very good gravitie: but, not so fit to enter into those Conferences as the Bishop was.

A day, and a meeting was appointed, where many questions passed betwixt them, and all the Conferences passed in the Arabicke Tongue, which both the Bishop and the other Nobleman well understood. Now, the Generall before his going out of England intertained a Jew, who spake that language perfectly, which stood him in good steed at that time. About many demands, the Generall made touching Freedomes for the Merchants, the Bishop said unto him: Sir, what reasons shall we shew to the King, from you, whereby he may (the more willingly) grant these things, which you have demanded to be granted by him: to whom the Generall answered with these reasons following.

Her Majesties mutuall Love.

Her worthinesse in protecting others against the King of Spaine the common Enemie of these parts.

Her noble mind which refused the offer of those Countries.

Nor will shee suffer any Prince to exceed her in kindnesse.

Whose Forces have exceeded the Spaniards in many Victories.

And hindred the Portugals attempts against these parts.

The Grand-Signor of Turkie hath alreadie entred into League with her Majestie on honorable conditions.

*Reasons of another kind.*

Moreover, it is not unknowne to the King, what prosperitie, Trade of Merchandise bringeth to all Lands: with increase of their revenues, by the Custome of these Commerces.

Also Princes grow into the more renowme and strength, and are the more feared, for the wealth of their Subjects, which by the concurrence of Merchandises grow and increase.

And the more kindly that Strangers are entertained, the more the Trade doth grow. The Prince is thereby much enriched also.

And for Achem, in particular, this Port lieth well, to answer to the Trade of all Bengala, Java, and the Moluccas, and all China. And these places having vent of their Merchandise, will not let to resort hither with them. So that, by this meanes, the royaltie of the Kings Crowne, will greatly increase, to the decrease, and diminishing of all the Portugals Trade, and their great Forces in the Indies.

And, if it shall happen, that his Majestie wanteth any Artificers, hee may have them out of our Kingdome, giving them content for their travaile: and free course to goe, as they have good will to come.

And any other necessarie, that our Countrie bringeth forth, and may spare, shall be at the Kings command and service.

But, I hope his Majestie will not urge any demands more, then her Majestie may willingly consent unto: or that shall be contrarie to her Honour and Lawes, and the League she hath made with all Christian Princes her neighbours.

Further, the Generall demanded, that his Majestie would cause present Proclamation to be made for our safetie, and that none of his people should abuse any of ours: but that they might doe their businesse quietly. And this last request was so well performed, that although there were a strict order, that none of their owne people might walke by night: yet ours, might goe both night and day, without impeachment of any. Onely, if they found any of ours abroad at unlawfull houres, the Justice brought them home to the Generals house, and there delivered them.

After these conferences ended, the Bishop demanded of the Generall, notes of his reasons in writing, as also of his demands of the priviledges he demanded in her Majesties name for the Merchants, and hee would shew them to the King: and within few dayes, he should have his Majesties answer to them. And with these conferences, and much gratulation, and with some other talke of the affaires of Christendome: they broke up for that time.

The Generall was not negligent, to send his demands to the noble men, which (for the most part) were drawne out before hand: for, he was not unreadie for these businesses, before he came aland in the Kingdome.

At his next going to the Court, and sitting before the King, beholding the Cock-fighting (which is one of the greatest sports this King delighteth in) hee sent his Interpreter with his obeisance to the King, desiring him to be mindfull of the businesse, whereof hee had conferred with his Noblemen. Whereupon, he called the Generall unto him, and told him, that hee was carefull of his dispatch: and would willingly enter into Peace and League with her Majestie, and (for his part) would hold it truely. And for those Demands and Articles, he had set downe in writing, they should be all written againe, by one of his Secretaries, and should have them authorized by him. Which within five or six dayes, were delivered the Generall, by the Kings owne hands, with many good and gracious words: the Tenor of which League and Articles of Peace, are too long to be

inserted. According to their desires, was to the English granted, First, Free entry and trade. Secondly, Custome free, whatsoever they brought in, or carried forth: and assistance with their vessels and shipping, to save our ships, goods, and men from wracke in any dangers. Thirdly, Libertie of Testament to bequeath their goods to whom they please. Fourthly, Stability of bargaines and orders for payment by the subjects of Achen, &c. Fifthly, Authority to execute justice on their owne men offending. Sixthly, Justice against injuries from the Natives. Seventhly, Not to arrest or stay our goods, or set prizes on them. Eighthly, Freedome of Conscience.

This League of Peace and Amitie being settled, the Merchants continually went forward, providing Pepper for the lading of the ships: but there came in but small store, in respect of the last yeeres sterility. So by some of them he understood of a Port, about an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence, in the South part of the same Iland, called Priaman, where he might lade one of his smaller ships. Then he prepared the *Susan*, and placed for Captaine and chiefe Merchant in her, M. Henry Middleton.

He was also not a little grieved, that Captaine John Davis his principall Pilot, had told the Marchants before our comming from London, that Pepper was to be had here for foure Spanish royals of eight the hundred: and it cost us almost twentie. The Generall, daily grew full of thought, how to lade his shippes to save his owne credit, the Merchants estimation that set him a worke, and the reputation of his Countrey: considering what a foule blot it would be to them all, in regard of the nations about us, seeing there were merchandise enough to bee bought in the Indies, yet he should be likely to returne home with empty ships.

Besides the Portugall Ambassador had a diligent eye over every steppe we trode, but was no whit accepted of the King. For the last day of his beeing at the Court, he had demanded of the King, to settle a Factorie in his Countrey, and to build a Fort at the comming in of the Harbour: his reason was, for the more securitie of the Merchants goods, because the City was subject to fire. But the King perceiving what he meant, gave him this answer backe againe: Hath your Master (saith he) a Daughter to give unto my Sonne, that he is so carefull of the preservation of my Countrey? He shall not neede to be at so great a charge, as the building of a Fort: for I have a fit house about two leagues from this Citie, within the Land,

which I will spare him to supply his Factorie withall: where they shall not need to feare either enemies or fire, for I will protect him. Hereupon the King was much displeased at this insolent demand: and the Embassadour went from the Court much discontented.

*Portugall wiles discovered, a Prize taken neere Malacca.*

Shortly after this, there came to our house, an Indian (to sell Hennes) which was appertaining to a Portugall Captaine, who came to that Port with a Ship laden with Rice, out of the Port of Bengala. This Captaine lay in the Embassadors house, and the Generall mistrusted, he came only for a Spy to see, and perceive what we did: and yet he gave commandement, he should be well intreated, and they should alwayes buy his Hennes, and give him a reasonable price for them. At last, he himselfe tooke occasion, pleasantly to commune with the Indian, whence hee was, and of what Countrey; saying, A young man of his presence, merited some better meanes then buying and selling of Hennes. Sir, said he, I serve this Portugall Captaine, yet am neither bound, nor free: but beeing free borne, I have beene with him so long time, that now he partly esteemeth me as his owne: and so great they are, that wee cannot strive with them. Then said the Generall unto him: If thy liberty be precious unto thee, thy person meriteth it. But what wouldst thou doe for him, that would give thee thy libertie without pleading with thy Master for it? Sir, said the Indian, Freedome is as precious as life, and my life I would adventure for him that should do it. Proove me therefore in any service that I can doe for you, and my willingnesse shall soone make good what I have said. Well, said the Generall, thou hast willed me to proove whether thou meanest truely, or no. I would aske of thee, What the Embassador saith of me, and my shipping which I have in this place; and what pretences he hath? Sir, said the Indian, he hath had a Spie aboard of all your Ships, a Chinese, who is continually conversant with your people: so that he hath a draught drawne, not onely of your ships, and their greatnesse, but also of every Piece of Ordnance that each ship hath, and how they are placed, and the number of your men that are in them. And he findeth your ships strong, and well appointed; But by reason of the sicknesse that hath been in them, they are but weake of men, and easie to be taken, if any force come upon them on the suddaine: and within few dayes, he meaneth to send his draughts

to Malacca, for force to attempt your ships as they ride. The Generall laughed pleasantly to heare these things, saying; The Embassador was not so idle as he thought him: for hee well knoweth (said he) that I care little for all the forces of these parts. It is but to make thee, and the rest that are about him beleieve, that you are stronger then you be. But goe thy way, and be here once in a day or twaine, and tell me whether the Embassadour goe forward in his proceedings, and when those Messengers shall depart with the plots thou speakest of. And although it will benefit me little to know these things, yet I will give thee thy libertie for thy good will thou shewest therein, as I have promised thee to doe. This Indian went away very well contented, as any man might easily perceive by his countenance, and the lightnesse of his pace. Now, when he was gone, the Generall turned about, and said to me: We have met with a fit man to betray his Master, if we can make any benefit of the treason. And surely, he was not deceived in his opinion: for by this meanes, whatsoever the Embassadour did all the day, we had it either that night, or (at the furthest) the next day in the morning. And this Fellow carried the matter so warily, that he was neither mistrusted of any of the Embassadors house, nor knowne to any of ours, what businesse he went about. For he had the right conditions of a Spie, being wily, fearefull, carefull, subtile, and never trusting any to heare what conference he had with the Generall: but delivered his minde unto him alone, and that in such carelesse sort, as if hee had answered the Generall idly, whatsoever he demanded of him: for he stood in feare of our owne people, least they would bewray the selling of his Hennes, which covered all his comming and going to our House.

The next day, the Generall was sent for to the Court, and the King had conference with him, about an Embassage that the King of Siam had sent him touching the conquest of Malacca: and with what force he would assist him by Sea, if he undertooke that service. For this King of Sumatra, is able to put a very great force of Gallies to Sea, if he may have but some foure or five moneths warning before-hand, to make them ready. This conference the Generall furthered with many reasons, and tooke an occasion to enter into talke of the Spanish Embassadour, how insolently proud he carried himselfe: and that his comming into his Majesties Kingdome and Court, was for no other purpose, but onely as a Spie, to see and dis-

cover the strength of his Kingdome. I know it well (said the King,) for they are enemies of mine, as I have beene to them: but what causeth thee to see this? The Generall answered him; That he could take nothing in hand, but his Spies attended upon him, to marke what he went about, and to what ende. And among other things (saith he) he had taken a draught of his ships, and meaneth to send it to Malacca: and to procure forces to set upon him at unawares. The King smiled to heare the Generall mention these things, and said; Thou needest not feare any strength that shall come from Malacca: for all the strength they have there, is able to doe thee no harme. The Generall answered, I doe not (said he) feare their strength, what they can doe to me: but it may be much to my hinderance, that they understanding the time I meane to goe to Sea, they shall thereby bee advised to keepe themselves within their Ports, so that I shall not be able to offend them. Is it so, said the King? Yea, said the Generall, and therefore I would intreat your Majestie, to make stay of two of the Embassadors servants that are now going to Malacca, within these few dayes, who take not their passage from hence: but will goe to another Port of yours, and there hire a Barke, to transport them thence, because they will be sure not to be intercepted. And if your Majestie intercept them there, you shall be privy to some of their plots and pretences. Well, said the King, let me understand of their departure from hence, and thou shalt see what I will doe for thee. So, the Generall tooke his leave of the King, well contented, and had daily conference with his Merchant that sold Hennes: so that there was not any thing done, or laid in the Embassadors house, but he was privy to it.

Now the time was come, that the Embassadors two servants were to depart with their plots, and their Masters Letters: and they went down to a Port about five and twentie leagues from Achen. But the Generall was not slacke to advise the King thereof, who had given order before: so that at their comming thither, and when they had hired their passage, and had imbarked themselves with all their Letters, and were going over the Barre, a mile from the Citie, a Frigget went after them, and caused the Barke to strike sayle, that the Justice might see, what their lading was. And when the Justice came aboard, and saw two Portugals there, he asked them from whence they came, and whether they were going: they answered, They came from Achem, and belonged to the Portugall Embassadour.

Nay, said the Justice, but you have robbed your Master, and runne away like theeves with his goods: and therefore I will returne you againe to him, from whom you are fled, and there you shall answer it. But in this hurly-burly, and searching of them, they lost their plots, and their letters, and their Trunkes were broken open: and they sent to Achem, bound backe againe to the Court, to be delivered to the Embassador, if they did belong unto him. The General had some intelligence of these things, and the next time he came to the Court, the King called him unto him, and said: Now what sayest thou, art thou contented? The Generall made him obeisance, and gave him humble and heartie thanks for his clemencie, and kinnesse towards him: and with some other conference, the Generall departed for that time. The Marchant of Hennes came daily following his Merchandize, and as the Generall suspected, and he himselfe afterwards confessed, not without his Masters consent; to advise from us, as well as he advised from his Master.

But now the Summer was past, and September came, the time that the Generall meant to goe to sea to seeke meanes to supply his necessities: and now fell out the greatest Crosse of all to his pretence. The Embassador himselfe had his dispatch from the King to be gone. Which the Generall knowing, went to the Court, and where the King sate, seeing the sports that were made before him, he sent his Interpreter to him, desiring that it would please him to heare a certain request which he had unto his Majestie. Whereupon the King immediately called for him, and demanded what he would have him to doe. It hath pleased your Highnesse, said the Generall, to doe me many curtesies, and therefore I am further imboldened, to proceed to request one kindnesse more at your Majesties hands. What is that (said the King, smiling) are there more Portugals going to Malacca, to hinder thy pretences? Yea, said the Generall the Embassador himselfe (as I am given to understand) hath your Majesties dispatch to be gone at his pleasure: and is determined to depart within five dayes. And what wouldst thou have me to doe, said the King? Only stay him but tenne dayes, till I be gone forth with my ships. Well, said the King, and laughed, thou must bring me a faire Portugall maiden when thou returnest, and then I am pleased. With this answer the Generall tooke his leave, and departed; and hasted all that he could to be gone. For he had left the Merchants behind him, and under the protection of the King till his returne:

and in the meane time to buy what Pepper they could, to helpe to furnish the *Ascentions* lading, which was now more then three parts laden. But the Generall would not leave her behind him, riding in the Port, but tooke her in his company: for she road but in an open place. All the three ships were made readie, and there was a Captaine of a Dutch ship in the road, who desired the Generall that he might goe to sea in his company, and take part of his adventure; his ship was above two hundred Tunnes, but had as little money to lade himselfe, as we; and therefore refused no consort. So the Generall was contented to give him  $\frac{1}{8}$ . of what should be taken, and hee rested therewith contented. The Generall having taken his leave of the King, and presented two of the chiefe Merchants unto him, M. Starkie, and M. Styles, the King graciously tooke them into his protection and safeguard: for these Merchants with some others, were left behind (as I said before) for the providing of such Pepper, as was there to be had, against the returne of the ships from the Sea. The ships being ready, we set sayle the eleventh of September, toward the Straights of Malacca.

Now, let me tell you how the King dealt with the Embassadour of Portugall, after our departure, which every day urged his dispatch to be gone: but still, upon one occasion or other, his passage was deferred. At last (foure and twenty daies after our departure) the King said unto him: I marvaile you are so hasty to be gone, seeing the English Embassadour is abroad at the Sea with his shipping? If he meete you, he will be able to wrong you, and doe you violence. I care little for him, said the Embassadour, for my Friget is so nimble with Saile and Oares, that if I have but her length from him, I will escape all his force. Well, said the King: I am the more willing you should depart, because I see you rest so assured of your owne safety: and so he had his dispatch to be gone. This service came well to passe for us, for if he had gone away in time, such advice would have beene given from Malacca, by Frigots into the Straights, that all shippes would have had warning of us: but (by this meanes) we lay within five and twentie leagues of Malacca it selfe, and were never descryed, whereby to be prevented. The third day of October, we being in the Straights of Malacca, laying off and on, the *Hector* espied a Sayle, and calling to the rest of the shippes, we all discried her. And being toward night, a present direction was given, that we should all spread ourselves a mile and an halfe, one from another,

that she might not passe us in the night. The shippe fell with the *Hector*, that first espied her, and presently she called unto her, and shot off two or three peeces of Ordnance: so that the rest of the shippes had intelligence, and drew all about her, and began to attempt her with their great Ordnance, and she returned shot againe. But when the Admirals ship came up, he discharged sixe peeces together out of his Prow: and then her maine yard fell downe. After that she shot no more, nor any of our shippes, fearing least some unfortunate shot might light betweene wind and water, and so sinke her, (for the Generall was very carefull) so the fight ceased till the morning. At the breake of day, the Captaine with some of the rest, entred their Boate, and the *Hector* being next her, called them to come aboard him: and Maister John Middleton the Captaine, being Vice-Admirall, brought the Boate and Captaine aboard the Generall, to whom they rendered their shippe and goods. The Generall presently caused all the chiefe men of the Prize, to be placed aboard our shippes, and onely placed but foure of our men aboard the Prize: for feare of rifling, and pillaging the good things that were within her: and those foure suffered none other to come aboard. And their charge was, if any thing should be missing, to answer the same out of their wages and shares: for when the shippe was unladen, the Boateswaine and the Marriners of the same shippe, did wholly unlade her, and none of ours came within her to doe any labour. Onely they received the goods into their Boates, and carried them aboard such shippes, as the Generall appointed them to doe: so that by this order, there was neither rifling, theeving, pillaging, or spoiling, which otherwise would hardly have been avoyded in such businesse as this. Within five or sixe daies, we had unladen her of nine hundred and fiftie packes of Calicoes, and Pintados, besides many packets of Merchandize: she had in her much Rice, and other goods, whereof we made small account. Now a storme arising, all their men were set aboard, and we left her, riding at an Anchor. This shippe came from a place called Saint Thoma, that lyeth in the Bay of Bengala, and was going for Malacca. When we intercepted her, she had in her above sixe hundred persons, Men, Women, and Children: her burthen was nine hundred tuns. The Generall would never goe aboard to see her, and his reason was, to take away suspicion, both from the Mariners that were there, and the Merchants that were at London, least they might charge, or suspect him

for any dishonest dealing, by helping himselfe thereby. He was very glad of this good hap, and very thankfull to God for it, and as he told me, he was much bound to God, that had eased him of a very heavy care, and that hee could not be thankfull enough to him for this blessing given him. For, saith he, he hath not onely supplied my necessities, to lade these ships I have: but hath given me as much as will lade as many more shippes as I have, if I had them to lade. So that now my care is not for money, but rather, where I shall leave these goods that I have, more then enough, in safety, till the returne of the ships out of England.

The one and twentieth of October, our shippes returned out of the Straights of Malacca for Achen, where by the way a great Spout of water came powring out of the Heavens, and fell not farre from our ship, which we feared much. For these Spouts come powring downe like a river of water, so that if they should light in any ship, she were in danger to be presently sunck downe into the Sea: it falleth with such an extreame violence, all whole together, as one drop, or as water powred out of a vessell: and sometimes dureth a quarter of an howre together, so that the Sea boyleth with froth, of an exceeding height, by the violence of the fall of the Spoute.

*Their Present to and from the King: His Letters to Queene Elizabeth: Their departure for Priaman and Bantam, and settling a Trade there.*

The foure and twentieth of October, we cast our Anchors in the Port of Achen in Sumatra, where the Generall went a shore, and found all the Merchants well, and in safety: who gave great commendations of their good, and kind entertainment received from the King, in the Generals absence. Wherefore, the Generall willing to gratifie the King, with such things as he had taken in the Prize, sorted out a present of divers things, that he thought might be most to his liking: and at his first going to the Court, presented them unto him. The King received the Present, and welcomed the-Generall, and seemed to be very joyfull, for the good successe he had against the Portugall: and jestingly said, hee had forgotten the most important businesse that he requested at his hands, which was, the faire Portugall Maiden, he desired him to bring with him at his returne. To whom the Generall answered: that there was none so worthy, that merited to be so presented. Therewithall the King smiled, and said: If there be any thing heere in my kingdome may pleasure thee,

I would be glad to gratifie thy good will. After this, the Generall commaunded the Merchants to put aboard the *Ascention*, all such Pepper, Cinamon, and Cloves, as they had bought in his absence: which was scarcely the ships full lading, but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that yeare to be hoped for. And therefore, he willed the Merchants to put all their things aboard the ships, for his resolution was to depart from thence, and goe for Bantam in Java major, where he understood both of good sale for his commodities, and great returne of Pepper to be had, and at a much more reasonable price, then they could buy it at Achen. This determination once knowne, all men hasten to put their things aboard. So the Generall made the King privy to his departure, and went to the Court, and had long conference with him, who delivered him a Letter for her Majestie, written in the Arabian tongue: The Tenor whereof, is as followeth.

THE LETTER OF THE KING OF ACHEN, TO THE QUEENE  
OF ENGLAND

Glorie be to God, who hath magnified himselfe in his Workes, glorified his Dominion, ordained Kings and Kingdomes, exalted himselfe alone in Power and Majestie: he is not to be uttered by word of mouth, nor to be conceived by imagination of the heart, he is no vaine phantasme: no bound may containe him, nor any similitude expresse him: his blessing and his peace is over all his goodnesse in the Creature: He hath beene proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and since that often, and now againe by this writing at this present, inferiour unto none. For this Citie, which is not slacke to shew their love, hath manifested it, in the entertainment of that societie, which filleth the Horizons with joy, and hath confirmed it to the eye by a signe, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their request is just, with purpose for exchange; and they themselves of honest carriage, and their kindnesse great in doing good in generall to the Creatures, helping the Creature in prosperitie and adversitie joyntly, giving liberally unto the poore, and such as stand in neede of their abundance, preserving the Creature to their uttermost with a willing mind: which for them now is extended unto India and Arach; sending forth the chieftest men of discretion and note, calling also the best of the creatures to counsaile herein.

This is the Sultana which doth rule in the Kingdome of England, France, Ireland, Holland, and Friseland: God continue that Kingdome and that Empire long in prosperitie.

And because that he which hath obtained the writing of these Letters, from the King of the Kingdome of Ashey, who doth rule there with an absolute power; And for that there came unto Us a good report of you, declared and spread very joyfully by the mouth of Captaine James Lancaster, (God continue his welfare long.) And for that you doe record that in your Letters, there are commendations unto us and that your Letters are Patent Priviledges. Almighty God advance the purpose of this Honorable consociation, and confirme this worthy league.

And for that you doe affirme in them, that the Sultan of Afrangie<sup>1</sup> is your enemy, and an enemy to your people, in what place soever he be, from the first untill now, and for that he hath lift up himselfe proudly, and set himselfe as King of the world: yet what is he, besides his exceeding pride and haughtie mind? In this therefore is our joy increased, and our societie confirmed: for that he and his Company are our enemies in this world, and in the world to come: so that we shall cause them to die, in what place soever we shall meete them, a publicke death.

And moreover, you doe affirme, that you desire peace and friendship with us. To God be praise and thanks for the greatnesse of his Grace. This therefore is our serious Will, and Honourable Purpose truely in this Writing, That you may send from your people unto Our Ports, to Trade and to Traffique: and that whosoever shall be sent unto Us in your Highnesse Name, and to whomsoever you shall prescribe the time, they shall be of a joynt Company, and of common priviledges. For this Captaine and his Company, so soone as they came unto us, we have made them of an absolute societie: And we have incorporated them into one Corporation and common Dignities: And we have graunted them Liberties, and have shewed them the best course of Traffique: And to manifest unto men, the love and brother-hood betweene us and you in this world. There is sent by the hand of this Captaine, according to the custome, unto the famous Citie, a Ring of Gold, beautified with a Ruby, richly placed in his sete, two vestures woven with Gold, embroidered with Gold, inclosed in a red Boxe of Tzin.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spain.

<sup>2</sup> China.

Written in Tarich of the yeere 1011. of Mahomet. Peace  
be unto you.

*Translated out of the Arabick, by WILLIAM BEDWEL.*

For a Present to her Majestie, he sent three faire Cloathes richly wrought with Gold, of very cunning worke, and a very faire Rubie in a Ring: and gave to the Generall another Ring, and a Rubie in it. And when the Generall tooke his leave, the King said unto him: have you the Psalmes of David extant among you? the Generall answered: yea, and wee sing them daily. Then said the King: I, and the rest of these Nobles about me, will sing a Psalme to God for your prosperitie, and so they did very solemnly. And after it was ended, the King said: I would heare you sing another Psalme, although in your owne language. So there being in the company some twelve of us, we sung another Psalme; And after the Psalme ended, the Generall tooke his leave of the King, the King shewing him much kindnesse at his departure: desiring God to blesse us in our journey, and to guide us safely into our owne Countrey, saying, if hereafter your ships returne to this Port, you shall find as good usage as you have done. All our men being shipped, we departed the ninth of November, being three ships, the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Ascention*. We kept company two dayes, in which time the Generall dispatched his Letters for England, and sent away the *Ascention*, she setting her course homeward, toward the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and we, along the Coast of Sumatra, toward Bantam: to see if wee could meete with the *Susan*, which had order to lade upon that Coast.

As we sayled along the Coast of Sumatra, we sodainly fell among certaine Ilands in the night: and the day approaching, wee marvelled how wee came in among them, without seeing any of them. They were all low landed, and full of Flattes and Rockes, so that wee were in great danger, before we could cleere our selves of them: but thanks be to God, who delivered us from many other dangers, as he did also deliver us from these. So holding on our course from Priaman, we passed the Equinoctiall Line the third time, and came thither the six and twentieth of November, and found the *Susan* there, which the Generall had sent before from Achen, to lade there. Now, when they saw us, they were very glad of our comming, and had provided toward their lading, some six hundred Bahars of

Pepper, and sixtie sixe Bahars of Cloves. Heere our Pepper cost us lesse then at Achen, but there is none growing about this Port, but is brought some eight or ten leagues out of the Countrey, from a place called Manangcabo. This place hath no other Merchandise growing there; only, there is good store of Gold in Dust, and small graines, which they wash out of the Sands of Rivers: after the great flouds of Raine, that fall from the Mountaines, from whence it is brought. This is a place of good refreshing, and is very wholesome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fifteene minutes of the Line. At this Port having refreshed our selves with the good ayre, fresh victuals and water, the Generall gave Commission to the Captaine of the *Susan*, to make what haste he could for his lading, which would bee accomplished with some hundred Bahars of Pepper, and so to depart for England. And the fourth day of December, we tooke our course toward Bantam, in the Iland of Java major: and we entred the Straights of Sunda, the fifteenth of December, and came to an anchor under an Iland, three leagues from Bantam, called Pulopansa.

The next day in the morning, we entred the Road of Bantam, and shot off a very great peale of Ordnance out of the *Dragon*, being our Admirall, and out of the *Hector*: such an one as had never beene rung there, before that day. The next day in the morning, the Generall sent his Vice-Admirall, Captaine John Middleton a-land, with a Message to the King: declaring, that hee was sent by the Queene of England, and had both a Message and a Letter to deliver to his Majestie from her, and required his Majesties safe conduct and warrant to come a-land, to deliver the same. The King returned him word, that hee was very glad of his comming, and sent backe a Nobleman with Captaine Middleton, to welcome the Generall, and to accompany him a-land. The Generall tooke some sixteene men in his company, and went a-land with the Nobleman to the Court: where he found the King (being but a child of ten or eleven yeares of age) sitting in a round-house; with some sixteene or eightene Noblemen of the Countrey about him, in some reasonable estate. The Generall did his obeysance, and the King welcomed him very kindly. And after the Generall had had some conference about his message, hee delivered to the Kings hand, her Majesties Letter, with a Present of Plate, and some other things withall: which the King received with a smiling countenance, and referred the General

(for further conference) to one of his Nobles, who was then Protector. After some houre and an halfes conference had of many things, the said Nobleman (as from the King) received the Generall under the Kings protection, and all his Company: willing him to come a-land, and buy and sell, without any kinde of molestation, for there he should be as safe, as if he were in his owne Countrey: and to this, all the Nobles agreed with one consent. There passed many speeches of divers things, which (for brevities sake) I omit to trouble the Reader withall: for, my purpose is to shew the effect of this first settling of the Trade in the East-Indies, rather then to particularize of them. The Generall, after his kind welcome and conference had, took his leave of the King, and the rest of his Nobles: and presently gave order for the providing of housing, whereof the King willed him to make his best choice wheresoever he would. So, within two dayes, the Merchants brought goods ashore, and beganne to sell: but, one of the Kings Nobles came to the Generall, and said, it was the custome of that place, that the King should buy, and furnish himselfe, before the Subjects should buy any thing. The Generall was well contented, for he was advised, that he would give a reasonable price, and pay very well. The King being served, the Merchants went forward in their sales: so that within some five weekes, much more was sold there in goods, then would have laden our two shippes: and yet they brought away from thence two hundred and seventie sixe bagges of Pepper. These containd sixtie two pound waight a piece, and cost at first penny  $5\frac{1}{2}$ . Rials of eight the piece, beside our anchorage, and the Kings Custome, which anchorage for our two ships cost us (by agreement the Generall made with the Savendar, or Governour of the Citie) fiftene hundred Rials of eight, and one Riall of eight upon every bagge of custome. Wee traded heere very peaceably, although the Indians be reckoned among the greatest Pickers and Theeves of the World. But the Generall had commission from the King (after hee had received an abuse or two) that whosoever he tooke about his house in the night, he should kill them: so, after foure or five were thus slaine, we lived in reasonable peace and quiet. But, continually, all night, wee kept a carefull watch. As we went buying Pepper, we sent it aboard, so that by the tenth of February, our ships were fully laden, and readie to depart, But, in this meane time, the Captaine of the *Hector*, Master John Middleton, fell sicke aboard his ship, in the Roade (for the General observed

this from the beginning of the Voyage, that if he himselfe were ashore, the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall kept aboard, because both should not be from their charge at one time.) The Generall hearing of his sicknesse, went aboard to visit him, and found him weaker, then hee himselfe felt, which experience had taught him to know in these hot Countries. And so it happened with Captaine Middleton then walking up and downe, who dyed about two of the clock next morning.

Now, the Generall began to put all things in order, and hasten his departure, and appointed a Pinnasse of about fortie tunnes (which he had) to bee laden with Commodities, and put in her twelve men with certaine Merchants, and sent her for the Moluccas: to trade there and settle a Factorie, against the returne of the next shipping out of England. Moreover, he left eight men: and three Factors in Bantam, the chiefe of which Factors, was Master William Starkey, whom he appointed to sell such Commodities as were left them: and to provide lading for the shippes, against the next returne. Also the Generall went to the Court to take his leave of the King, where he received a Letter for her Majestie, and a Present for her, of certaine Bezar-stones, very faire, and to the Generall he gave a very faire Java Dagger, which they much esteeme there, and a good Bezar-stone with some other things. And thus the Generall tooke his leave of the King, with many kind countenances and good words.

. . . . .

[After encountering a storm near the Cape of Good Hope which tore away their rudder and brought them to great extremity, they struggled homeward, finally reaching England on 11th September; —‘for the which, thanked by almightie God, who hath delivered us from infinite perils and dangers, in this long and tedious navigation’.]

## DUTCH PROCEEDINGS AT AMBOYNA

*The Dutch late proceedings at Amboyna, in cruell torturing, and executing of divers English-men; with other their like Acts to the Natives in Banda.*<sup>1</sup>

AFTER the fruitlesse issue of two severall Treaties: the first Anno 1613. in London; and the other Anno 1615. at the Hage in Holland, touching the differences betweene the English and Dutch in the East-Indies, at last by a third Treatie Anno 1619. in London, there was a full and solemne composition made of all the said differences, and a faire order set for the future proceeding of the Supposts of both Companies in the Indies; aswell in the course of their Trade and Commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, that in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to bee bestowed by the Hollanders, in winning of the Trade of the Iles of the Molluccos, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portugals, and in building of Forts for the continuall securing of the same, the said Hollanders therefore should enjoy two third parts of that Trade, and the English the other third; and the charge of the Forts to bee maintained by taxes and impositions, to be levied upon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the English East India Company planted certaine Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the Molluccos, some at Banda, and some at Amboyna.

This Amboyna is an Iland lying neere Seran, of the Circuit of fortie leagues, and giveth name also to some other small Ilands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the English Companie for their part had planted five severall Factories: the head and Rendevouz of all, at the Towne of Amboyna; and therein first, Master George Muschampe, and afterward Master Gabriell Towerson, their Agents, with directions over the smaller Factories at Hitto and Larica, upon the same Iland, and at Loho and Cambello, upon a point of their neighbouring Iland of Seran.

Upon these Ilands of Amboyna, and the point of Seran, the Hollanders have foure Forts; the chiefe of all is at the said Towne of Amboyna, and is very strong, having foure Points or Bulwarkes with their Curtaines, and upon each of these Points sixe great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of Brasse. The one side of this

<sup>1</sup> *Hakluytus Posthumus*, vol. ii (1625), p. 1853.

Castle is washed by the Sea, and the other is divided from the Land with a Ditch of foure or five fathome broad, very deepe, and ever filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this Castle consisteth of about two hundred Dutch Souldiers, and a Company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is alwayes a matter of three or foure hundred Mardikers (for so they usually call the free Natives) in the Towne, ready to serve the Castle at an houres warning. There lye also in the Roade (for the most part) divers good Ships of the Hollanders, as well for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of Traffique: this being the chiefe Rendevouz, as well for the Iland of Banda, as for the rest of Amboyna. Heere the English lived; not in the Castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their owne in the Towne; holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of Amitie betweene both Nations, as of the strict conjunction made by the late Treatie before mentioned.

They continued heere some two yeares, conversing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the said Treatie. In which time there fell out sundrie differences and debates betweene them; The English complainyng that the Hollanders did not onely lavish away much money in Building, and unnecessarie expences, upon the Forts and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable reckonings thereof to the common accompt; but also did, for their part, pay the Garrison with victuals and cloath of Coromandell, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the English Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the English (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to Jaccatra, in the Iland of Java Major, to the Councell of defence of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing upon the points in difference, sent the same hither over into Europe, to bee decided by both Companies heere; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Majestie, and the Lords the States Generall, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the English and the Dutch, about these and other differences, continued and daily encreased, untill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of Amboyna

and Jaccatra could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth.

About the eleventh of February 1622. *Stilo veteri*, a Japoner Souldier of the Dutch in their Castle of Amboyna, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Centinell (being a Hollander) and there, amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is heere to bee noted, that those Japoners (of whom there is not thirty in all the Iland) did, for the most part, serve the Dutch as souldiers, yet were not of their trustie bands, alwaies lodged in the Castle, but upon occasion called out of the Towne to assist in the Watch. This Japoner aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Centinel, apprehended upon suspicion of Treason, and put to the Torture. Thereby (as some of the Dutch affirmed) hee was brought to confesse himselfe, and sundry others of his Countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the Castle. Hereupon, other Japoners were examined and tortured, as also a Portugall, the Guardian of the Slaves under the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure dayes; some of the English men went too and from the Castle upon their businesse, saw the Prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge: but all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themselves: having never had any conversation with the Japoners, nor with the Portugall aforesaid. At the same time there was one Abel Price, Chirurgion of the English, Prisoner in the Castle, for offering in his Drunkennesse to set a Dutch-mans house on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and shewed him some of the Japoners, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the English to have beene of their confederacie, for the taking of the Castle: and that if he would not confesse the same, they would use him even as they had done these Japoners, and worse also. Having given him the torture, they soone made him confesse what ever they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. *Stilo veteri*. Forthwith, about nine of the clocke the same Morning, they sent for Captaine Towerson, and the rest of the English that were in the Towne, to come to speake with the Governour in the Castle: they all went, save one that was left to keepe the House. Being come to the Governour, he told Captaine Towerson, that himselfe and others of his Nation were accused of a Conspiracie to surprise

the Castle, and therefore, untill further triall, were to remaine Prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house, tooke the Merchandize of the English Companie there into their owne custodie by Inventorie, and seized all the Chests, Boxes, Bookes, Writings, and other things in the English house. Captaine Towerson was committed to his Chamber with a guard of Dutch Souldiers, Emanuel Tomson was kept Prisoner in the Castle, the rest, viz. John Beomont, Edward Collins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramsey, Timothy Johnson, John Fardo, and Robert Browne, were sent aboard the Hollanders ships then riding in Harbour, some to one ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Governour sent to the two other Factories in the same Iland, to apprehend the rest of the English there. So that Samuel Colson, John Clarke, George Sharrock, that were found in the Factorie at Hitto, and Edward Collins, William Webber, and John Sadler at Larica, were all brought Prisoners to Amboyna, the sixteenth of February. Upon which day also John Powell, John Wetherall and Thomas Ladbroke, were apprehended at Cambello, and John Beomont, William Grigs, and Ephraim Ramsey, at Loho, and brought in Irons to Amboyna the twentieth of the same moneth.

In the meane time, the Governour and Fiscall went to worke with the Prisoners that were already there: And first they sent for John Beomont, and Timothy Johnson, from aboard the *Unicorne*; who being come into the Castle, Beomont was left with a guard in the Hall, and Johnson was taken into another roome. Where, by and by, Beomont heard him cry out very pitifully; then to be quiet for a little while, and then loud againe. After taste of the torture, Abel Price the Chirurgion, that first was examined and tortured (as is above remembred) was brought in to confront and accuse him: But Johnson not yet confessing any thing, Price was quickly carried out, and Johnson brought againe to the torture, where Beomont heard him sometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afresh. At last, after he had been about an houre in this second examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by place of the Hall, with a souldier to watch him that he should speake with no body. Then was Emanuel Tomson brought to examination; not in the roome where Johnson had beene, but in another something farther

from the Hall. Yet Beomont being in the Hall, heard him roare most lamentably, and many times. At last, after an houre and an halfe spent in torturing him, he was carried away into another roome another way, so that hee came not by Beomont through the Hall. Next was Beomont called in, and being demanded many things, all which he denied with deepe oathes and protestations, was made fast to be tortured; a cloth tyed about his necke, and two men ready with Jarres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Governor bad loose him, he would spare him a day or two, because he was an Old man. This was all Saturdaies worke, the fifteenth of February aforesaid.

Upon Sunday the 16. of February, William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramsey, and Robert Browne, were fetcht from aboard the *Rotterdam* to be examined. At the same time came Samuel Colson, William Grigs, and John Clarke, George Sharrocke, and John Sadler, from Hitto and Larica, and were immediately upon their arrivall, brought into the Castle-hall. Robert Browne Tailor was first called in, and being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the Fiscall asked him. Then was Edward Collins called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined, had confest him as accessary to the plot of taking the Castle. Which, when he denied with great oathes and execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throat, ready to be put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confesse all. Being let downe, he againe vowed and protested his innocencie; yet said, that because he knew that they would by torture make him confesse any thing, though never so false, they should doe him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him say, and hee would speake it, to avoyd the torture. The Fiscall here-upon said; what, doe you mocke us? and bad, Up with him againe; and so gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let downe again to his confession. Then he devised a little with himselfe, and told them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himselfe, Tomson, Johnson, Browne, and Fardo, had plotted, with the helpe of the Japoners, to surprize the Castle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiscall, and asked, whether Captaine Towerson were not of that conspiracie. He answered, No. You lie, said the Fiscall; did not hee call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the Dutch had caused him to thinke of a plot,

and that hee wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie? Then said a Dutch Merchant, one John Joost that stood by, Did not you all sweare upon a Bible to bee secret to him? Collins answered with great oathes, that hee knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bade make him fast againe: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscall asked him, whether the English in the rest of the Factories, were not consenting to this plot. Hee answered, No. The Fiscall then asked him, whether the President of the English at Jaccatra, or Mr. Welden Agent in Banda, were not plotters or privie to this businesse. Againe he answered, No. Then the Fiscall asked him by what meanes the Japoner should have executed their purpose. Whereat, when Collins stood staggering and devising of some fiction, the Fiscall holpe him, and said, Should not two Japoners have gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Governours Chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had beene without, and the Governour comming to see what was the matter the Japoners to have killed him? Here one that stood by said to the Fiscall, Doe not tell him what he should say, but let him speake of himselfe. Whereupon the Fiscall, without attending the answer to his former question; asked what the Japoners should have had for their reward. Collins answered, 1000. Ryals a peece. Lastly, he asked him, when this plot should have bin effected. Wherunto although hee answered him nothing (not knowing what to devise upon the sodaine) yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certain beleefe that he should die for this his Confession. Next, was Samuel Colson brought in, being newly arrived from Hitto, as is before touched, and was the same day brought to the torture, who, for feare of the paine wherwith he saw Collins come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blowne out of his head with the torment of water; chose rather to confess all they asked him: and so was quickly dismissed, comming out weeping, lamenting, and protesting his innocence. Then was John Clarke, that came with Colson from Hitto, fetcht in, and a litle after was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the space of 2. houres. The maner of his torture (as also of Johnsons and Tomsons) was as followeth: First, they hoised him up by the hands with a cord on a large doore, where they made him fast upon 2. staples of Iron; fixt on both sides, at the top of the doore posts, haling his hands one from the

other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made fast, his feet hung 2. foot from the ground, which also they stretcht asunder as farre as they would reach, and so made them fast beneath unto the doore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face so close, that little or no water could goe by. That done, They powred the water softly upon his head untill the cloth was full, up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher; so that hee could not draw breath, but hee must withall sucke in the water: which being still continued to be powred in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his Nose, Eares, and Eyes, and often as it were stifling and choaking him, at length tooke away his breath, and brought him to a swoone or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit up the water. Beeing a little recovered, they triced him up againe, and powred in the water as before, eftsoones taking him downe as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or foure severall times with water, till his bodie was swolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great Bladders, and his eies staring and strutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this hee bare, without confessing any thing; insomuch as the Fiscall and tormentors reviled him, saying that he was a Devill, and no man, or surely was a Witch, at least had some charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare so much. Wherefore they cut off his haire very short, as supposing he had some Witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoised him up againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted Candles in the bottome of his feete, untill the fat dropt out the Candles; yet then applyed they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbowes, and in the palms of the hands; likewise under the arme-pits, until his inwards might be evidently seene. At last, when they saw he could of himselfe make no hansome confession, then they led him along with questions of particular circumstances, by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment; he answered, yea to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine Towerson had upon New-yeeres day last before, sworne all the English at Amboyna to bee secret and assistant to a plot that hee had projected, with the helpe of the Japoners, to surprize the Castle, and to put the Governour and the rest of the Dutch to death.

Having thus martyred this poore man, they sent him out by foure

Blacks; who carried him betweene them to a Dungeon, where he lay five or six daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, untill (his flesh being putrified) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most lothsome and noysome manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies worke; and it growing now darke, sent the rest of the English (that came that day from Hitto, and till then attended in the Hall) first to the Smiths shop, where they were loaden with Irons, and then to the same lothsome Dungeon where Clarke and the rest were, accompanied with the poore Japoners, lying in the putrification of their tortures. The next morning being Munday the 17. of February, old Stile, William Grigs and John Fardo, with certaine Japoners, were brought into the place of examination. The Japoners were first cruelly tortured to accuse Grigs; which at last they did: and Grigs to avoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscall demanded. By and by the like also was done by John Fardo, and other Japoners: but Fardo himselfe endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscall asked him; and so was sent back to Prison.

I have no heart to proceed. In like manner John Beomont, George Sharrock, William Webber, Gabriell Towerson, John Wetherall, John Powle, Thomas Ladbuoke, Ephraim Ramsey, John Sadler, were examined by torture of the mind or bodie, or both. The Storie is fresh and lately printed, and long, to which I referre the Reader. Ten suffered, viz. Mon. Towerson, Colson, Thomson, Johnson, Wetherall, Clarke, Grigs, Fardo, Price, Browne; all protesting their innocencie.

They had prepared a Cloth of blacke Velvet for Captaine Tower-son his bodie to fall upon; which being stained and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the English Company.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darknesse, with a sudden and violent gust of wind and tempest; whereby two of the Dutch ships, riding in the Harbour, were driven from their Anchors, and with great labour and difficultie saved from the Rockes. Within a few dayes after, one William Dunckin, who had told the Governour, That Robert Browne the English Tailor, had a few moneths before told him, he hoped that the English should have as much to doe in the Castle of Amboyna, as the Dutch; This fellow comming upon an Evening to the Grave where the English were buried, being all (save Captaine Towerson) in one

pit, fell downe upon the Grave: and having lien there awhile, rose up againe starke madde, and so continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new sicknesse at Amboyna, which swept away about a thousand people, Dutch and Amboyners: in the space wherein, there usually died not above thirtie at other Seasons. These signes were by the surviving English referred to the confident prediction of Emanuel Tomson above-named, and were by the Amboyners interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyrannie of the Hollanders.

The manifold testimonies of their innocencie by their owne writings before their death, devout and deep protestations at their death; desire also to receive the Sacrament to ratifie the same, and lastly the prooffe thereof by many reasons, with the Objections answered; the Reader may at large see in the Booke set forth by the Company. Out of which for perfecting our Banda Relations, I have added this. But he could not see the thirtieth Article, which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should be remitted into Europe, first, to the two Companies there, and in default of their agreement to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former Articles, to limit the Councell of defence; and this generall Article appeareth to be added by way of ampliacion, to provide for that which was not particularly and expresly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, Anno 1619. where this course of proceeding is expresly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter happening in their common abroad. Since which also the Kings Majestie hath, upon a smaller occasion then the life of his Subjects, cleerely declared himselfe in the point of Sovereigntie; That both Nations in the Indies should wholly lay aside al pretence therof. Which Declaration was sent to the Lords States General, and by them accepted before this bloudie butcherie was executed. But if it were granted, that the Hollanders are absolute Lords of their partners the English in those parts; without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the Hollanders in Amboyna, are bound to observe the Lawes of the united Provinces; for so saith this Authour himselfe. Doe these allow to begin the Processe at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the Racke, upon others

confession made in the torture? Do their Lawes allow of the leading Interrogatories above mentioned, to direct the Prisoner what to say, to avoid the torture? Where, in the united Provinces, is that drowning with water, in use? or the torture with fire, used to Johnson, Tomson, and Clarke? or especially the splitting of their toes, and launcing of the brest, and putting in Gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the bodie is not left intire, neither for innocencie, nor execution? Clarke and Tomson, were both faine to bee carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictory, apparantly false, and of things impossible to bee done, much lesse practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not by their Law to have been believed, nor the Prisoners to have beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient Indicia, or evidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excesse of the torture whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in England; and saith, That the Lords States Generall take great care to enforme themselves of all the passages of this busines; and to that end have desired to see all the Letters, Pieces, and Papers that concerne this Processe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture used. But suppose the acts make no mention of them; is it any marvell that the Authors of this murtherous and tyrannous Processe, being themselves the persons that also formed the Acts would omit those things that made against them? It is to bee presumed also, that the Acts kept by their people at Poloway in Banda, have omitted many things of their Processe, against the poore Polaroones, whom in August 1622. being about sixe monethes before this execution of the English, their Governour there used in like sort, as the Governour of Amboyna did the English, and gave him a modell and precedent of this Processe; which it will not be amisse to relate briefly, because this Authour, in the next place alleageth the mercifull disposition of the Netherlands Nation in generall; to inferre thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their Governour at Amboyna was so cruell, as is reported in England.

Polaroon one of the Ilands of Banda, was in possession of the English at the time of the Treatie, Anno 1619. and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the Treatie came unto the Indies, the Hollanders forbare publishing thereof in the Ilands of Banda, untill they had taken Polaroon. But, knowing that it must be re-

stored againe, according to the Treatie, they first take all courses to make the Iland little or nothing worth: they demolish and deface the Buildings, transplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them up by the Roots, and carrying them into their owne Ilands of Nera and of Poloway, there to be planted for themselves; and at last finde a meanes to dispeople the Iland, and to leave it so, as the English might make no use of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that upon this occasion: There was a young man, the Sonne of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in Polaroon, that had committed Felonie; for which, by the Lawes of his Countrey, hee was to die. This fellow, to save his life, fled to another Iland of Banda, called Rosinging, and there turned Christian: but quickly understanding, that that would not make him safe from punishment, hee went backe secretly to his owne Countrey of Polaroon; and, having lurked there a few dayes, tooke his passage for Nera, another Iland where the Dutch have a Fort; and told the Dutch Governour, that the Orankeyes of Polaroon had conspired to massacre the Dutch as well at Polaroon, as at Poloway, with helpe of the people of Seran, that should send over thirtie Curricurries for that purpose. Immediately upon this Indicium of this Malefactor, certaine Prowes or Fisherboates of the Polaroons, that were fishing at Poloway, were seized, and the people made Prisoners, Command was sent by the Dutch Governour to Polaroon, that the Orankeyes should come over to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter.

The Priest of the Polaroons and seventie Orankeyes instantly tooke a Prow or small Vessell of their owne, and embarked themselves for Poloway. As they were at Sea, and yet out of the sight of the Dutch Castle, they were met by a Fisher-boat of Bandanezes, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to Poloway, they were all but dead men. Neverthesse, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and meanes to have escaped to Seran and other places safe enough from the Hollanders, yet were so confident of their innocencie, that they would needs to Poloway to purge themselves. Where, assoone as they were arrived, they were instantly carried Prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Governour, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for Polaroon; whence he fetched all the rest of the Orankeyes, and brought them Prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were comne, they were presently brought to the torture of Water and fire, even in the

same sort as our people were afterward at Amboyna; onely herein differing, that of those of Poloway, two were so tortured, that they died in their tortures; the rest being one hundred sixtie two persons, were all upon their owne forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the Mallaian Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poore, black and white, looke to it: we have committed no fault. And when hee would have spoken more, hee was taken by the hands and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle with a Sword. Forthwith, the Governour caused the wives, children, and slaves of those of Polaroon, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subject to the Dutch; and so have made a cleere Countrey for the English; where they may both plant and gather themselves destitute of the helpe of any of the Countrie people; without whom, neither the English nor Hollanders can maintaine their Trade in the Indies. And yet this is not heere recited, to the end thereby to charge the Neetherlands Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselves, that have committed those barbarous Tyrannies: Who, if we shall beleeeve an Authour of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Maiores (as the Authour sayes) use the Indies as a Tucht-house or Bridewell, to manage their unruly and unthrifitie children and kindred; whom when they cannot rule and order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred to Offices and places of Government. Yea, saith he, they preferre such to be Fiscalls there, as never saw Studie nor Law. So that it is no marvell, that such persons proceed not with that Justice and moderation as is used generally in the Low Countries, by the choice of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credit, that came lately from Amboyna; who averre, that excepting the Governour himselfe, who is well stept in yeeres, of the rest of the Councell there, as well the Fiscall, as others, there was scarce any that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons, and yet must be Judges as well of our English, as the poore Indians there.



IX

THE DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALASIA

§ I. *Abel Janszoon Tasman.*

§ II. *Captain James Cook.*



## TASMAN

### *Introductory Note.*

UNTIL recent years the place and date of Abel Tasman's birth were a matter of conjecture. But the researches of Mr. C. H. Dozy of Leyden, and others, have established the fact that he was born about the year 1603 at Lutjegast, a little village in the province of Groningen near the Friesland boundary. Nothing is known of his parents or other relations. Indeed his own early career is wrapped in complete obscurity. It is not until his second marriage to one Jannetie Tjaerdt in January 1632 that any clear view of his doings can be obtained. At that time he was a poor common sailor ('vaerent-gesel'), living at Amsterdam in Teerketelsteeg, Tar-kettle lane. Janet, too, before her marriage seems to have been in equally humble circumstances. Like Columbus, however, the Dutch navigator was soon obliged to leave his newly-won wife for the sea. Sometime in 1632 or 1633 he entered into the usual three-year indenture with the Dutch East India Company, and probably sailed in one of the ships fitted out by the Chamber of Amsterdam. During his stay in India he served as first mate in the *Weesp*, which cruised along the Coromandel coast, the South-East coast of Borneo and into Chinese waters. In February 1634 she sailed again from Batavia, this time bound for Amboyna, with the new Governor of that settlement, Antonie Van den Heuvel, on board. Three months later he had sufficiently impressed Van den Heuvel as to be appointed 'skipper' of the *Mocha* and to be sent as second in command of a dangerous pioneering expedition to Banda. On his safe return to Amboyna he was employed in a series of routine cruises, punishing recalcitrant natives, chasing smugglers, and so forth. The three years' service being completed, he went on board the *Banda* in the Batavia roads on 30th December 1636 and returned to the Netherlands. A brief stay at Amsterdam to set his affairs in order, and he was off again for the Indies, accompanied by the faithful Jannetie.

This second sojourn in India was destined to establish Tasman's reputation as one of the most skilful navigators and explorers of his time. Ever since the last quarter of the 16th century the Spaniards had been seeking for certain legendary gold-islands to the East of Japan. These enterprises came to the knowledge of one Verstegen,

who in 1635 sent a report thereon to the Dutch Board of Directors. The home authorities were as keen as the new Governor-General, Antonio Van Diemen, to explore the commercial possibilities of this promising region. In the following year the Council of India planned an expedition, but adverse reports checked their enthusiasm and the venture was postponed. The Directors, however, insisted on its prosecution, 'which would be of great use to the Company in order in time to get over its heavy burdens, and come into the real enjoyment of the profits of the East India Trade'. The result was the dispatch of the *Engel* and *Graft* under Matthijs Quest on 2nd June 1639, with Abel Tasman as second in command.

Needless to say the expedition did not discover 'the gold-bearing Islands', and struggled back to Formosa on 24th November 'in very woefull plight' from disease. Nevertheless the voyage had been by no means fruitless. The careful charting of the North Pacific provided the Netherlanders with accurate information which they had previously lacked. And incidentally Tasman acquired invaluable experience in the art of maritime discovery which enabled him three years later to win undying fame in the South.

After commanding in an important voyage to Formosa and Japan in 1640, a further visit to Formosa in 1641, and a diplomatic visit to Palembang a year later, Tasman was appointed by the Supreme Government at Batavia on 2nd August 1642 to conduct his famous expedition 'in order to navigate to the Southern and Eastern Countries, which are only partially known, and have not hitherto been explored'.

Throughout the first three decades of the 17th century a succession of voyages had acquainted the Dutch with a large part of the North, West and South coasts of *Terra Australis*. What was now required was a linking up of these various pieces of information and an answer to the problem of whether 'the South Land' was an archipelago or one vast continent. In his voyages of 1642 and 1644 Tasman supplied a partial answer, and in so doing pointed the way for Captain Cook and the subsequent building of an Australian nation.

The later career of Tasman need not detain us here. After conducting diplomatic missions to Djambi (1646), to Siam (1647), and to the Philippines (1648), he retired from the Company's service and lived in prosperous and uneventful retirement at Batavia, where he died about the year 1658.

# THE DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALASIA

## ABEL JANSZOOM TASMAN

*Instructions for Skipper Commander Abel Jansz. Tasman, Pilot-Major Franchoy Jacobsz. Visscher, and the Council of the Ship Heemskerck and the Flute de Zeehaen, destined for the discovery and exploration of the unknown and known South-land, of the South-east coast of Nova Guinea, and of the islands circumjacent.*<sup>1</sup>

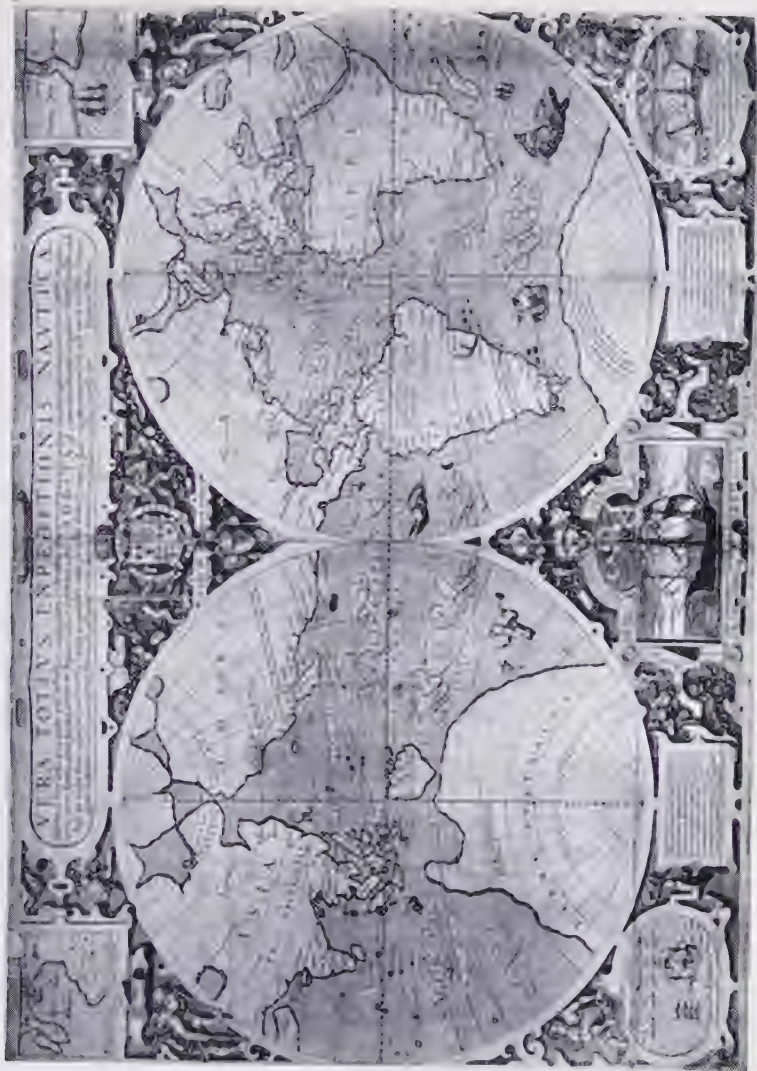
IT is well known that a hundred and fifty years ago only a third part of the globe (divided into Europe, Asia and Africa) was known, and that the Kings of Castile and Portugal (Ferdinandus Catholicus and Don Emanuel) caused the unknown part of the world, commonly called America or the New World (and by cosmographers divided into North and South America), to be discovered by the highly renowned naval heroes, Christopher Columbus and Americus Vesputius, who thereby achieved immortal praise; likewise that about the same time the unexplored coasts and islands of Africa and East India were first reached and discovered by the famous Vasco de Gama and other Portuguese Captains. With what invaluable treasures, profitable trade-connections, useful trades, excellent territories, vast powers and dominions the said kings have by this discovery and its consequences enriched their kingdoms and crowns: what numberless multitudes of blind heathen have by the same been introduced to the blessed light of the Christian religion; all this is well-known to the expert, has always been held highly praiseworthy by all persons of good sense, and has consequently served other European Princes as an example for the discovery of many Northerly regions.

Nevertheless up to this time no Christian kings, princes, or commonwealths have seriously endeavoured to make timely discovery of the remaining unknown part of the terrestrial globe (situated in the south, and presumably almost as large as the Old or New World,) although there are good reasons to suppose that it contains many

<sup>1</sup> Extracted by kind permission of the publishers (Müller & Co.) from *Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal, with documents relating to his exploration of Australia in 1644, to which are added the life and labours of Tasman*, by J. E. Heeres (Amsterdam, 1898).

excellent and fertile regions, seeing that it lies in the frigid, the temperate and the torrid zones, so that it must needs comprise well-populated districts in favourable climates and under propitious skies. And seeing that in many countries north of the line Equinoctial (in from 15 to 40 degrees Latitude), there are found many rich mines of precious and other metals, and other treasures, there must be similar fertile and rich regions situated south of the Equator, of which matter we have conspicuous examples and clear proofs in the gold- and silver-bearing provinces of Peru, Chili, Monomotapa or Sofala (all of them situated south of the Equator), so that it may be confidently expected that the expense and trouble that must be bestowed in the eventual discovery of so large a portion of the world, will be rewarded with certain fruits of material profit and immortal fame.

This being the case, and no European colony being better fitted for initiating these promising discoveries than the city of Batavia (which is as it were the centre of East India, both known and unknown), therefore the Governors-General Jan Pietersz. Coen and Henrick Brouwer (our predecessors in office) were during their periods of office seriously inclined to send out expeditions for the discovery of the unknown Southern regions, although they were prevented from so doing by voyages of greater necessity. Likewise ourselves have, during the period of our office, been well disposed towards the same, our Lords and Masters equally recommending the said matter as a highly useful one. For all which reasons we, the Council of India, having made a proper estimate of the Company's naval forces now available, and having found that, without detriment to other more important expeditions, both warlike and mercantile, two able and fitting vessels may without inconvenience be set apart for this purpose, have determined no longer to postpone the long contemplated discovery of the unknown South-land, but to take the matter in hand forthwith, using for the purpose the ship *Heemskerck*, together with the flute de *Zeehaen* (duly provided with all necessities,) placing the said vessels under the command of your persons, to whom, as well fitted and inclined to the same, we with full confidence commit this important voyage, trusting that you will ably and prudently manage the same with good judgment, necessary courage and the requisite patience, so that on your return you will be able to give us a full and satisfactory account of the execution of your mandate.



HONDIUS' WORLD MAP OF 1595



We shall not here enlarge on the various methods for discovering the South-land, submitted to us in writing by certain experienced pilots, but will rather refer you to the appended copies of the same, of which you can avail yourselves on occasion; while in the following we proceed to give you such rules and instructions as we think best adapted to meet your case, it being always understood, however, that you will be at liberty at all times to introduce such corrections as with the advice of your council you shall deem to be required by time, place and circumstances, with an eye to the advantage of the company and the attainment of our object; all which we confidently leave to your tried judgment and experience. To-morrow morning, after due muster, you will then set sail together, and try to get out of Sunda Strait as quickly as possible, setting your course so as to fall in speedily with the South-east trade-wind, with which you will take your way westward to the island of Mauritius (running in sight of Diego Rodrigues), and come to anchor there in the South-east harbour before the fortress of Frederick Henrick, where you will hand to Commander Adriaan Van der Stel our annexed letters together with the commodities you have taken on board for the said island; while you are there, you will quickly and properly provide your ships with water, firewood and refreshments, bestowing on this no more than 14 or 15 days, however, or till the 12th or 15th of October at the latest, taking due care that during that time your crews be properly refreshed and dieted exclusively on fresh viands, to which end we have given the needful orders to Commander Van der Stel, to assist you to the extent of his power, and if necessary to allow you to go a-hunting for wild animals.

As before mentioned, your necessities having been provided for, you will about medio October, or earlier, set sail from the Mauritius, shaping your course with the trade-wind nearly southward, as high as wind and weather shall permit, until about the Southern Latitude of 36 or 38 degrees, when you have got out of the eastern trade-wind, you shall fall in with the variable winds, with which you will always put about on the best tack for getting to the southward, until you get into the western trade-wind, with which you will sail nearly southward until you come upon the unknown South-land, or as far as South Lat. 52 or 54 degr. inclusive; and if in this latitude you should not discover any land, you will set your course due east, and sail on until you get into the longitude of the eastern point of Nova

Guinea, or of the Salomonis islands, situated in about 220 degr. longitude, or until you should meet with land; and when this is the case, whether in the beginning or afterwards when you have sailed more to eastward, you will sail eastward (as before mentioned) along the coasts or islands discovered, following the direction of the same.

All the lands, islands, points, turnings, inlets, bays, rivers, shoals, banks, sands, cliffs, rocks, etc., which you may meet with and pass, you will duly map out and describe, and also have proper drawings made of their appearance and shape, for which purpose we have ordered an able draughtsman to join your expedition; you will likewise carefully note in what latitude they are situated; how the coasts, islands, capes, headlands or points, bays and rivers bear from each other and by what distances they are separated; what conspicuous landmarks such as mountains, hills, trees, or buildings, by which they may be recognised, are visible on them; likewise what depths and shallows, sunken rocks, projecting shoals and reefs are situated about and near the points; how and by what marks these may most conveniently be avoided; *item* whether the grounds or bottoms are hard, rugged, soft, level, sloping, or steep; whether one should come on sounding, or not; by what land- and sea-marks the best anchoring-grounds in road-steads and bays may be known; the bearings of the inlets, creeks and rivers, and how these may best be made and entered; what winds blow in these regions; the direction of the currents; whether the tides are regulated by the moon or by the winds; what changes of monsoons, rains and dry weather you observe; furthermore diligently observing and noting whatever requires the careful attention of experienced steersmen, and may in future be helpful to others who shall navigate to the countries discovered. The summer season being evidently the time best fitted for the intended voyage and for the observation of all the things mentioned, on account of the length of the days and the shortness of the nights at that time of year, you will take care not to neglect time nor waste any needlessly, but make the most of the summer season and the favourable weather, when you will be able to sail on by night and by day alike, which you cannot do when the days are drawing in, and there is no moon; seeing that it is of the highest importance that you should get sight of everything, if you wish to discover a great deal soon and in a short time.

As already mentioned, you will explore the coast discovered on an

eastward course, or if you should not meet with any land, you will continue your eastward course as far as the longitude of New Guinea or the Salomonis islands. Unless after mature consideration you should deem it better to sail no farther than the longitude of the eastern extremity of the known South-land or of the islands of St. Pieter and Franchois, and then to direct your course due north, in order to run in sight of these islands; thence to follow the coast to eastward in order to ascertain how far it extends, and whether this discovered South-land joins Nova Guinea near Cape Keerweer, or whether it is separated from the same by channels or passages; in which latter case, by passing through one of the channels as far as the Wilms river, the north-coast might be conveniently explored sailing westward; but since it is most likely to be supposed that these lands join each other without a break, and it is uncertain whether you would be able to follow its south-coast as far as Nova Guinea, owing to its north-east trend, and your falling in with the eastern trade-wind, so that you might perhaps be compelled for that purpose to go southward in order to fall in with the westerly winds, or otherwise to return to Batavia by the westward route along the land of d'Eendracht; therefore we think the route first proposed to be the more eligible one, namely, to sail to eastward as far as the longitude of Nova Guinea, or of the Salomonis islands.

We therefore, as aforesaid, give it as our opinion, that in case you should in sailing eastwards not come upon any land in 48, 52 or 54 degrees Southern Latitude, you should not seek any land farther to southward, but proceed on an easterly course as far as the longitude of the east side of Nova Guinea, and with the consent of the Council, from there to the Salomonis islands, or still 100, 150 or 200 miles more to eastward, in order to become the better assured of a passage from the Indian Ocean into the South-Sea, and to prepare the way for afterwards conveniently finding a short route to Chili.

When on the course thus indicated you shall have reached the longitude of the Salomonis islands, or have got from 100 to 200 miles more to eastward, you will with the south-east trade-wind and keeping a westerly course explore the same, and otherwise sail northward and westward, south or north of the islands (if such they be), towards the east-coast of Nova-Guinea and along it, as far as the island of Gylolo, where we have no doubt you will discover certain passages or channels to the south, which, that you may conveniently

and profitably pass through the same, you will endeavour to be near in the unsettled month of April, in order to get to Cape Keer-weer, with the variable winds, by interior passages (if practicable) east of Ceram, and the islands of Cauwer, Quey, and Arou; all which should be effected before the east monsoon begins to stiffen, as otherwise efforts to run to the south so far to eastward would be attended with great difficulty.

Now when you have fetched up Cape Keer-weer (in 18 degrees latitude) you will sail along the coast of this land to westward as far as Wilms river (situated in Eendraghts landt in 21 degrees), making use of the south-east trade-wind, and following the direction of the coast; observing, describing and noting what above has been enumerated as regards the discovery and exploration of the unknown South-land, more especially diligently endeavouring to ascertain whether between Nova Guinea and the land of d'Eendracht, particularly at the points just mentioned, Cape Keer-weer and the Wilms river, there are any channels or passages to southward, such channels or passages being of the utmost importance for getting speedily into the South Sea.

What instructions were in 1636 given to Commander Gerrit Pool for the discovery of this unknown region, you will be able to see from the copy of the same which we annex, and of which you can avail yourselves on occasion.

From Willems river, which we hope you will reach about the month of May or July of next year, you will shape your course straight from the middle of the isle of Java, then sail along its south-coast with the east-monsoon, and thus pass through Sunda Strait on your way to Batavia, between the western extremity of Java and the Prince islands.

That you may avoid running against unknown land, and being cast on shoals or cliffs, and prevent accidents thereby arising, so far as human precaution may go, you will cause a proper look-out to be kept without intermission, and promise a reasonable reward to the person who shall first see and become aware of unknown coasts or dangerous shoals.

The above is what we have deemed needful to enjoin you regarding courses and sailing-routes in order to the discovery of the unknown southern regions; what other things may be required according as circumstances shall present themselves, we herewith refer to your

good management, experienced seamanship and the decision of the Ship's council.

Passing on to other matters which you will have diligently to observe, attend to and pursue in the voyage now by you to be undertaken, we urgently recommend you, in discovering new coasts, to come to anchor now and then when time and place shall serve, always seeking and selecting convenient and fitting bays or road-steads, where you may lie with least danger, for which purpose the two *Tingangs* you take along with you, may be of great use, more especially in the discovery and exploration of bays, shoals, harbours, rivers, etc., what time you shall have come near Nova Guinea and the land of *d'Eendracht*, or got into smooth seas with the south-east trade-wind.

In landing with small craft extreme caution will everywhere have to be used, seeing that it is well-known that the southern regions are peopled by fierce savages, for which reason you will always have to be well armed and to use every prudent precaution, since experience has taught in all parts of the world that barbarian men are nowise to be trusted, because they commonly think that the foreigners who so unexpectedly appear before them, have come only to seize their land, which (owing to heedlessness and over-confidence) in the discovery of America occasioned many instances of treacherous slaughter. On which account, you will treat with amity and kindness such barbarian men as you shall meet and come to parley with, and connive at small affronts, thefts and the like which they should put upon or commit against our men, lest punishments inflicted should give them a grudge against us; and by shows of kindness gain them over to us, that you may the more readily from them obtain information touching themselves, their country, and their circumstances, thus learning whether there is anything profitable to be got or effected.

So far as time shall allow, you will diligently strive to gather information concerning the situation of their country, the fruits and cattle it produces, their method of building houses, the appearance and shape of the inhabitants, their dress, arms, manners, diet, means of livelihood, religion, mode of government, their wars and the like notable things, more especially whether they are kindly or cruelly disposed; showing them various specimens of the commodities you have taken with you for that purpose, so as to learn what commodities and materials are found in their country, and what things they are desirous of obtaining from us in return; all which matters you will

carefully note, correctly describe and faithfully set forth in drawings; keeping for the purpose an ample and elaborate journal, in which you will set down an exact record of all that may befall you, that on your return you may be able to lay a proper report before us.

If, unlikely as it may be, you should happen to come to any country peopled by civilised men, you will give to them greater attention than to wild barbarians, endeavouring to come into contact and parley with its magistrates and subjects, letting them know that you have landed there for the sake of commerce, showing them specimens of the commodities which you have taken on board for the purpose, for which we refer you to the specified invoice; closely observing what things they set store by and are most inclined to; especially trying to find out what commodities their country yields, likewise inquiring after gold and silver whether the latter are by them held in high esteem; making them believe that you are by no means eager for precious metals, so as to leave them ignorant of the value of the same; and if they should offer you gold or silver in exchange for your articles, you will pretend to hold the same in slight regard, showing them copper, pewter or lead and giving them an impression as if the minerals last mentioned were by us set greater value on.

You will prudently prevent all manner of insolence and all arbitrary action on the part of our men against the nations discovered, and take due care that no injury be done them in their houses, gardens, vessels, or their property, their wives, etc.; nor shall you carry off any of the inhabitants from their country against their will; should, however, any of them be voluntarily disposed to accompany you, you are at full liberty to bring them hither.

If in the course of this voyage there should be discovered any rich countries or regions, islands, or passages, profitable to the Company, we shall not be found ungrateful towards the managers of the expedition and all the well-behaved men taking part in it, duly recompensing the pains and trouble they have been at, and honouring them with such rewards as their services done shall be found to have deserved; on all which all of you may rely to the fullest extent.

The ships are manned with 110 able-bodied men, to wit the *Heemskerck* with 60, and the *Zeehaen* with 50; they are victualled and provided with all necessaries for twelve, and with rice for eighteen calendar months; out of these you will have the ordinary rations

regularly and properly served out, with two meat-days and one bacon-day every week, and one mutchkin and a half of arrack every day; all which you will cause to be properly arranged and seen to. Of strong arrack each of the ships will take on board two hogsheads, to be in moderation served out in cold weather for the sake of the men's health. But above all you will carefully husband the fresh water, that you may not come to be in want of it, or be forced to delay your voyage in order to seek it, or return from such search unsuccessfully.

And to the end that this voyage may be well regulated and performed in accordance with these instructions and our good intentions, that proper order may be maintained among the men, law and justice be administered in conformity with the general regulations, and furthermore everything that in so long and dangerous an expedition shall occur and be required, be done and executed to the best advantage and service of the Company; therefore we have appointed the Honble. Abel Jansz. Tasman Commander of the two ships, by the present authorising him to carry the flag on the main-topmast of the *Heemskerck*, to convene the council, and permanently to occupy the chair in the same; in consideration thereof commanding and enjoining all Officers and sailors, excepting none, who have been ordered on board the ships *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen*, to acknowledge the aforesaid Abel Tasman as their Commander and Chief, to respect and obey him, and likewise on all occasions to assist him with their good advice and diligent service, for the furtherance of the voyage and the discovery of unknown lands, in such fashion as befits vigilant and faithful servants, and as on their return they can conscientiously answer for to ourselves.

The council of these ships will consist of the persons following, to wit:

The Commander Abel Jansz Tasman, permanent President.

The Skipper Yde T'jercxsz on board the *Heemskerck*.

The Pilot-Major Francois Jacobsz on board the *Heemskerck*.

The Skipper Gerrit Jansz on board the *Zeehaen*.

The Supercargo Isaack Gilsemans on board the *Zeehaen*.

The Subcargo Abraham Coomans, on board the *Heemskerck* who will also act as Secretary.

The first Steersman Henrick . . . on board the *Zeehaen*.

In this Council all matters relating to the progress of this voyage

and the execution of our instructions will have to be discussed and determined, the Commander to have a double vote in case of equality of votes; in matters touching the administration of justice the master-boatswains will also have to be summoned, according to the orders of Our Masters, but in matters relating to navigation, such as the courses to be held and the discoveries of lands to be made, the Pilot-major Francoys Jacobsz will give his vote immediately after the Commander, and his advice will be duly attended to, the plan of this voyage having been drawn up in conjunction with him; in these cases the second mates will also have to be summoned to attend the Council, in which they will have an advisory vote; the Commander will have to collect these votes, and decisions to be determined by a majority of the same, the Commander taking due care that all resolutions taken be forthwith recorded, properly signed and efficiently executed for the service of the Company.

In case of decease of Commander Tasman (which God in His mercy avert), Skipper Yde T'jercksen shall succeed to his place, and command, in all points replacing his predecessor, according to these our instructions, and be obeyed like him.

As soon as you shall be at sea, you will with the advice of the Council, and in order the better to remain together, draw up a proper code of signals, such code being of the utmost importance for the execution of our plan, which code should also contain arrangements necessary for enabling you to come together again, if by storm (which God avert) you should get separated from each other.

Concluding these instructions, we cordially wish you the blessing of the Ruler of all things, praying that He may in His mercy endow you with manly courage in the execution of the intended discovery, and may grant you a safe return, to the increase of His glory, the greater reputation of our country, the benefit of the Company's service, and your own immortal honour.

Done in the Castle of Batavia, the 13th of August, A.D. 1642.

(Signed) Antonio van Diemen, Cornelis vander Lijn, Joan Maetsuijcker, Justus Schouten, Salomon Sweers, Cornelis Witsen and Pieter Boreel.

All continents and islands, which you shall discover, touch at and set foot on, you will take possession of on behalf of Their High Mightinesses the States General of the United-Provinces, the which in uninhabited regions or in such countries as have no sovereign,

may be done by erecting a memorial-stone or by planting our Prince-flag in sign of actual occupation, seeing that such lands justly belong to the discoverer and first occupier; but in populated regions or in such as have undoubted lords, the consent of the people or the king will be required before you can enter into possession of them, the which you should try to obtain by friendly persuasion and by presenting them with some small tree planted in a little earth, by erecting some stone structure in conjunction with the people, or by setting up the Prince-flag in commemoration of their voluntary assent or submission; all which occurrences you will carefully note in your Journal, mentioning by name such persons as have been present at them, that such record may in future be of service to our republic.

Given at Batavia, date as above, In the name of the Honble. Governor-General and Councillors of India.

(Signed)

Justus Schouten.

\* \* \* \*

*Journal or Description drawn up by me, Abel Jansz Tasman, of a voyage made from the town of Batavia in East India, for the discovery of the unknown South-land, in the year of our Lord 1642, the 14th of August. May God Almighty vouchsafe His blessing on this work. Amen.*

[Setting sail with the *Zeehaen* and *Heemskerck* from Batavia on the 14th of August, Tasman and his pilot Visscher reached Mauritius on 5th September. So careless had been the preparations of the Batavian Government that the Governor-General and Council of Mauritius were compelled to supply them with canvas, cordage, and various other necessities. The *Zeehaen*, for example, 'had put to sea with her upper work half-rotten, so that a great part of it had to be repaired and renewed.' After refitting, the voyage was resumed on 8th October 'with our men strong and in good liking'. Running southward they encountered heavy weather until they reached the high latitude of 49 degrees. Acting on Visscher's advice, Tasman then turned back and followed westerly winds into less rigorous regions, until Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) was sighted on 24th November.]

\* \* \* \*

'Item the 24th do. (November Anno 1642). Good weather and a clear sky. At noon Latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 25'$ , Longitude  $163^{\circ}$

31'; course kept east by north, sailed 30 miles; the wind south-westerly and afterwards from the south with a light top-gallant breeze. In the afternoon, about 4 o'clock, we saw land, bearing east by north of us, at about 10 miles' distance from us by estimation; the land we sighted was very high; towards evening we also saw, east-south-east of us, three high mountains, and to the north-east two more mountains, but less high than those to southward; we found that here our compass pointed due north. In the evening, in the first glass after the watch had been set, we convened our ship's council with the second mates, and represented to them whether it would not be advisable to run farther out to sea; we also asked their advice as to the time when it would be best to do so; upon which it was unanimously resolved to run out to sea at the expiration of three glasses, to keep doing so for the space of ten glasses, and after this, to make for the land again; all of which may *in extenso* be seen from to-day's resolution, to which we beg leave to refer. During the night, when three glasses had run out, the wind turned to the south-east; we held off from shore, and sounded in 100 fathom, fine white sandy bottom with small shells; we sounded once more, and found black coarse sand with pebbles; during the night we had a south-east wind with a light breeze.

Item the 25th do. In the morning we had a calm; we floated the white flag and pendant from our stern, upon which the officers of the *Zeehaen* with their steersmen came on board of us; we then convened the Ship's council, and resolved together upon what may *in extenso* be seen from to-day's resolution, to which we beg leave to refer. Towards noon the wind turned to the south-east, and afterwards to the south-south-east and the south; upon which we made for the shore; at about 5 o'clock in the evening we got near the coast; three miles off shore we sounded in 60 fathom coral bottom; one mile off the coast we had clean, fine, white sand; we found this coast to bear south by east and north by west; it was a level coast, our ship being in  $42^{\circ} 30'$  S. Latitude, and average Longitude  $163^{\circ} 50'$ . We then put off from shore again, the wind turning to south-south-east, with a top-gallant gale. If you come from the west, and find your needle to show  $4^{\circ}$  north-westerly variation, you had better look out for land, seeing that the variation is very abruptly decreasing here. If you should happen to be overtaken by rough weather from the westward, you had best heave to, and not run on. Near the

coast here, the needle points due north. We took the average of our several longitudes, and found this land to be in  $163^{\circ} 50'$  Longitude.

This land being the first land we had met with in the South Sea, and not known to any European nation, we have conferred on it the name of *Anthoony van Diemenslandt*, in honour of the Hon. Governor-General, our illustrious master, who sent us to make this discovery; the islands circumjacent, so far as known to us, we have named after the Hon. Councillors of India, as may be seen from the little chart which has been made of them.

\* \* \* \*

[The next three pages contain coast-surveyings of Anthony van Diemens Landt with inscriptions.]

Item the 26th do. We had the wind from eastward with a light breeze and hazy weather, so that we could see no land; according to our estimation we were at  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles' distance from shore. Towards noon we hoisted the top-pendant, upon which the *Zeehaen* forthwith came astern of us; we called out to her men that we should like Mr. Gilsemans to come on board of us, upon which the said Mr. Gilsemans straightways came on board of us, to whom we imparted the reasons set forth in the subjoined letter, which we enjoined him to take with him on board the *Zeehaen*, to be shown to Skipper Gerrit Jansz, who is to give orders to her steersmen in accordance with its purport:

The officers of the Flute *Zeehaen* are hereby enjoined to set down in their daily journals this land which we saw and came near to yesterday, in the longitude of  $163^{\circ} 50'$ , seeing that we have found this to be its average longitude; and to lay down the said longitude as an established point of departure for their further reckonings; he who before this had got the longitude of  $160^{\circ}$  or more, will henceforth have to take this land for his starting-point; we make this arrangement in order to preclude all errors as much as is at all possible. The officers of the *Zeehaen* are requested to give orders in conformity to her steersmen, and to see them acted up to, because we opine this to be their duty; any charts that should be drawn up of this part, will have to lay down this land in the average longitude of  $163^{\circ} 50'$ , as hereinbefore stated.

Actum *Heemskercq* datum ut supra.

(signed)

Abel Jansz. Tasman.

At noon latitude estimated  $43^{\circ} 36'$  south, longitude  $163^{\circ} 2'$ ; course kept south-south-east, sailed 18 miles. We had half degree N.W. variation; in the evening the wind went round to the north-east, and we changed our course to east-south-east.

Item the 27th do. In the morning we again saw the coast, our course still being east-south-east. At noon latitude estimated  $44^{\circ} 4'$  south, longitude  $164^{\circ} 2'$ ; course kept south-east by east, sailed 13 miles; the weather was drizzly, foggy, hazy and rainy, the wind north-east and north-north-east with a light breeze; at night, when seven glasses of the first watch had run out, we began trying under reduced sail, because we dare not run on, owing to the thick darkness.

Item, the 28th do. In the morning, the weather still being dark, foggy and rainy, we again made sail, shaped our course to eastward and afterwards north-east by north; we saw land north-east and north-north-east of us, and made straight for it; the coast here bears south-east by east and north-west by west; as far as I can see, the land here falls off to eastward. At noon latitude estimated  $44^{\circ} 12'$ , longitude  $165^{\circ} 2'$ ; course kept east by south, sailed eleven miles, with a northwesterly wind and a light breeze. In the evening we got near the coast; here near the shore there are a number of islets, of which one in shape resembles a lion; this islet lies out into the sea at about three miles' distance from the mainland; in the evening the wind turned to the east; during the night we lay a-trying under reduced sail.

Item the 29th do. In the morning we were still near the rock which is like a lion's head; we had a westerly wind with a top-gallant gale; we sailed along the coast, which here bears east and west; towards noon we passed two rocks, of which the westernmost was like Pedra Branca off the coast of China; the easternmost was like a *tall, obtuse, square tower*, and is at about four miles' distance from the mainland. We passed between these rocks and the mainland; at noon latitude estimated  $43^{\circ} 53'$ , longitude  $166^{\circ} 3'$ ; course kept east-north-east, sailed twelve miles; we were still running along the coast. In the evening, about 5 o'clock, we came before a bay which seemed likely to afford a good anchorage; upon which we resolved with our ship's council to run into it, as may be seen from to-day's resolution; we had nearly got into the bay, when there arose so strong a gale that we were obliged to take in sail, and to run out to sea again under

reduced sail, seeing that it was impossible to come to anchor in such a storm; in the evening we resolved to stand out to sea during the night under reduced sail, to avoid being thrown on a lee-shore by the violence of the wind; all which may *in extenso* be seen from the resolution aforesaid, to which for briefness' sake we beg leave to refer.

Item the last do. At daybreak we again made for shore, the wind and the current having driven us so far out to sea, that we could barely see the land; we did our utmost to get near it again, and at noon had the land north-west of us; we now turned the ship's head to westward, with a northerly wind which prevented us from getting close to the land. At noon latitude observed  $43^{\circ} 41'$ , longitude  $168^{\circ} 3'$ ; course kept east by north, sailed twenty miles, in a storm and with variable weather. The needle points due north here. Shortly after noon we turned our course to westward with a strong variable gale; we then turned to the north under reduced sail.

Item the 1st of December. In the morning, the weather having become somewhat better, we set our top-sails, the wind blowing from the west-south-west, with a top-gallant gale; we now made for the coast. At noon latitude observed  $43^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $167^{\circ} 55'$ ; course kept north-north-west, sailed eight miles, it having fallen a calm; in the afternoon we hoisted the white flag, upon which our friends of the *Zeehaen* came on board of us, with whom we resolved that it would be best and most expedient, wind and weather permitting, to touch at the land the sooner the better; both to get better acquainted with its condition, and to attempt to procure refreshments for our own behoof; all which may be more amply seen from this day's resolution. We then got a breeze from eastward, and made for the coast to ascertain whether it would afford a fitting anchorage; about one hour after sunset we dropped anchor in a good harbour, in 22 fathom, white and grey fine sand, a naturally drying bottom; for all which it behooves us to thank God Almighty with grateful hearts.

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[The fifteen pages following contain coast-surveyings and charts of the coast of Anthony van Diemens Landt.]

Item the 2nd do. Early in the morning we sent our Pilot-major Francoys Jacobsz in command of our pinnace, manned with four musketeers and six rowers, all of them furnished with pikes and side-arms, together with the cock-boat of the *Zeehaen* with one of her

second mates and six musketeers in it, to a bay, situated north-west of us at upwards of a mile's distance, in order to ascertain what facilities (as regards fresh water, refreshments, timber and the like) may be available there. About three hours before nightfall the boats came back, bringing various samples of vegetables, which they had seen growing there in great abundance, some of them in appearance not unlike a certain plant growing at the *Cabo de Bona Esperance*, and fit to be used as pot-herbs, and another species with long leaves and a brackish taste, strongly resembling persil de mer or samphire. The Pilot-major and the second mate of the *Zeehaen* made the following report, to wit:

That they had rowed the space of upwards of a mile round the said point, where they had found high but level land, covered with vegetation (not cultivated, but growing naturally by the will of God), abundance of excellent timber, and a gently sloping water-course in a barren valley, the said water, though of good quality, being difficult to procure, because the water-course was so shallow, that the water could be dipped with bowls only.

That they had heard certain human sounds, and also sounds nearly resembling the music of a trump or a small gong, not far from them, though they had seen no one.

That they had seen two trees about two or two and a half fathom in thickness, measuring from sixty to sixty-five feet from the ground to the lowermost branches, which trees bore notches made with flint implements, the bark having been removed for the purpose; these notches, forming a kind of steps to enable persons to get up the trees and rob the birds' nests in their tops, were fully five feet apart, so that our men concluded that the natives here must be of very tall stature, or must be in possession of some sort of artifice for getting up the said trees: in one of the trees these notched steps were so fresh and new that they seemed to have been cut less than four days ago.

That on the ground they had observed certain footprints of animals, not unlike those of a tiger's claws; they also brought on board certain specimens of animal excrements voided by quadrupeds, so far as they could surmise and observe, together with a small quantity of gum of a seemingly very fine quality, which had exuded from trees, and bore some resemblance to gum-lac.

That round the eastern point of this bay they had sounded thirteen or fourteen feet at high water, there being about three feet at low tide.

That at the extremity of the said point they had seen large numbers of gulls, wild ducks and geese, but had perceived none farther inward, though they had heard their cries; and had found no fish except different kinds of muscles forming small clusters in several places.

That the land is pretty generally covered with trees, standing so far apart that they allow a passage everywhere, and a look-out to a great distance, so that when landing our men could always get sight of natives or wild beasts, unhindered by dense shrubbery or under-wood, which would prove a great advantage in exploring the country.

That in the interior they had in several places observed numerous trees had deep holes burnt into them at the upper end of the foot, while the earth had here and there been dug out with the fist so as to form a fire-place, the surrounding soil having become as hard as flint through the action of the fire.

A short time before we got sight of our boats returning to the ships, we now and then saw clouds of dense smoke rising up from the land, which was nearly west by north of us, and surmised this might be a signal given by our men, because they were so long coming back; for we had ordered them to return speedily, partly in order to be made acquainted with what they had seen, and partly to send them to other points, if they should find no profit there, to the end that no precious time might be wasted. When our men had come on board again, we inquired of them whether they had been there and made a fire, to which they returned a negative answer, adding however, that at various times and points in the wood they also had seen clouds of smoke ascending. So there can be no doubt there must be men here of extraordinary stature. This day we had variable winds from the eastward, but for the greater part of the day a stiff, steady breeze from the south-east.

Item the 3rd do. We went to the south-east side of this bay in the same boats as yesterday, with Supercargo Gilsemans and a number of musketeers, the oarsmen furnished with pikes and side-arms; here we found water, it is true, but the land is so low-lying that the fresh water was made salt and brackish by the surf, while the soil is too rocky to allow of wells being dug; we therefore returned on board and convened the councils of our two ships, with which we have resolved and determined what is set forth *in extenso* in to-day's resolution, to which for briefness' sake, we refer. In the afternoon

we went to the south-east side of this bay in the boats aforesaid, having with us Pilot-major Francoys Jacobsz, Skipper Gerrit Jansz, Isack Gilsemans, supercargo on board the *Zeehaen*, sub-cargo Abraham Coomans, and our master carpenter Pieter Jacobsz; we carried with us a pole with the Company's mark carved into it, and a Prince-flag to be set up there, that those who shall come after us may become aware that we have been here, and have taken possession of the said land as our lawful property. When we had rowed about half-way with our boats, it began to blow very stiffly, and the sea ran so high that the cock-boat of the *Zeehaen*, in which were seated the Pilot-major and Mr. Gilsemans, was compelled to pull back to the ships, while we ran on with the pinnace. When we had come close inshore in a small inlet which bore west-south-west of the ships, the surf ran so high that we could not get near the shore without running the risk of having our pinnace dashed to pieces. We then ordered the carpenter aforesaid to swim to the shore alone, with the pole and the flag, and kept by the wind with our pinnace; we made him plant the said pole with the flag at top into the earth, about the centre of the bay near four tall trees easily recognisable and standing in the form of a crescent, exactly before the one standing lowest. This tree is burnt in just above the ground, and in reality taller than the other three, but it seems to be shorter because it stands lower on the sloping ground; at top, projecting from the crown, it shows two long dry branches, so symmetrically set with dry sprigs and twigs, that they look like the large antlers of a stag; by the side of these dry branches, slightly lower down, there is another bough which is quite green and leaved all round, whose twigs, owing to their regular proportion, wonderfully embellish the said bough, and make it look like the upper part of a larding-pin. Our master carpenter, having in the sight of myself, Abel Jansz Tasman, Skipper Gerrit Jansz, and Sub-cargo Abraham Coomans, performed the work entrusted to him, we pulled with our pinnace as near the shore as we ventured to do; the carpenter aforesaid thereupon swam back to the pinnace through the surf. This work having been duly executed, we pulled back to the ships, leaving the above mentioned as a memorial for those who shall come after us, and for the natives of this country, who did not show themselves, though we suspect some of them were at no great distance and closely watching our proceedings. We made no arrangements for gathering vegetables, since the high seas prevented





our men from getting ashore, except by swimming, so that it was impossible to get anything into the pinnace. During the whole of the day the wind blew chiefly from the north; in the evening we took the sun's azimuth, and found  $3^{\circ}$  north-easterly variation of the compass; at sunset we got a strong gale from the north, which by and by rose to so violent a storm from the north-north-west, that we were compelled to get both our yards in, and drop our small bower-anchor.

Item the 4th do. At dawn the storm abated, the weather became less rough, and the land-wind blowing from the west by north, we hove our bower-anchor; when we had weighed the said anchor, and got it above the water, we found that both the flukes were broken off so far that we hauled home nothing but the shank; we then weighed the other anchor also, and set sail forthwith, in order to pass to the north to landward of the northernmost islands, and seek a better watering-place. Here we lay at anchor in  $43^{\circ}$  S. latitude, longitude  $167\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ; in the forenoon the wind was westerly. At noon latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 40'$ , longitude  $168^{\circ}$ , course kept north-east, sailed eight miles; in the afternoon the wind turned to the north-west; we had very variable winds all day; in the evening the wind went round to west-north-west again with a strong gale, then to west by north and west-north-west once more; we then tacked to northward, and in the evening saw a round mountain bearing north-north-west of us at about eight miles' distance; course kept to northward very close to the wind. While sailing out of this bay and all through the day, we saw several columns of smoke ascend along the coast. Here it would be meet to describe the trend of the coast and the islands lying off it, but we request to be excused for briefness' sake, and beg leave to refer to the small chart drawn up of it, which we have appended.

Item the 5th do. In the morning the wind blowing from the north-west by west, we kept our previous course; the high round mountain which we had seen the day before, now bore due west of us at six miles' distance; at this point the land fell off to the north-west so that we could no longer steer near the coast here, seeing that the wind was almost ahead. We therefore convened the council and the second mates, with whom after due deliberation we resolved, and subsequently called out to the officers of the *Zeehaen*, that pursuant to the resolution of the 11th ultimo, we should direct our course due

east, and on the said course run on to the full longitude of  $195^{\circ}$  or the Salomonis islands, all which will be found set forth *in extenso* in this day's resolution. At noon latitude estimated  $41^{\circ} 34'$ , longitude  $169^{\circ}$ , course kept north-east by north, sailed twenty miles; we then shaped our course due east for the purpose of making further discoveries, and of avoiding the variable winds between the trade-wind and the anti-trade-wind; the wind from the north-west with a steady breeze; during the night the wind from the west, a brisk steady breeze and good clear weather.

Item the 6th do. In the morning the wind from the south-west with a light breeze; at noon we were in latitude  $41^{\circ} 15'$ , longitude  $172^{\circ} 35'$ ; course kept east, sailed 40 miles; the weather was quite calm and still all the afternoon, the sea running high from all quarters, but especially from the south-west; in the evening, when the watches were setting, we got a steady breeze from the east-north-east and north-east.

Item the 7th do. The wind still continuing to blow from the north-east, the breeze quite as fresh as during the night. At noon latitude estimated  $42^{\circ} 13'$ , longitude  $174^{\circ} 31'$ ; course kept south-east by east, sailed twenty-six miles. Variation increasing  $5^{\circ} 45'$  N.E.

Item the 8th do. During the night we had a calm, the wind going round to the west and north-west. At noon latitude estimated  $42^{\circ} 29'$ , longitude  $176^{\circ} 17'$ ; course kept east by south, sailed twenty miles.

Item the 9th do. We drifted in a calm, so that by estimation we were carried three miles to the south-eastward. At noon latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 37'$ , longitude  $176^{\circ} 29'$ . Variation  $5^{\circ}$ . Towards evening we had a light breeze from the west-north-west.

Item the 10th do. Occasional squalls of rain mixed with hail, the wind being westerly with a top-gallant gale. At noon latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 45'$ , longitude  $178^{\circ} 40'$ ; course kept east, sailed 24 miles.

Item the 11th do. Good weather with a clear sky and a westerly wind with a top-gallant gale. At noon latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 48'$ , longitude  $181^{\circ} 51'$ ; course kept east, sailed 38 miles. Variation increasing  $7^{\circ}$  N.E.

Item the 12th do. Good weather, the wind blowing from the south-south-west and south-west with a steady breeze. At noon latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 38'$ , longitude  $185^{\circ} 17'$ ; course kept east,

sailed thirty-eight miles. The heavy swells still continuing from the south-west, there is no mainland to be expected here to southward. Variation  $7^{\circ}$  N.E.

Item the 13th do. Latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $188^{\circ} 28'$ ; course kept east by north, sailed thirty-six miles in a south-south-westerly wind with a top-gallant gale. Towards noon we saw a large, high-lying land, bearing south-east of us at about fifteen miles' distance; we turned our course to the south-east, making straight for this land, fired a gun and in the afternoon hoisted the white flag, upon which the officers of the *Zeehaen* came on board of us, with whom we resolved to touch at the said land as quickly as at all possible, for such reasons as are more amply set forth in this day's resolution. In the evening we deemed it best, and gave orders accordingly to our steersmen, to stick to the south-east course while the weather keeps quiet, but should the breeze freshen, to steer due east, in order to avoid running on shore, and to preclude accidents as much as in us lies; since we opine that the land should not be touched at from this side, on account of the high open sea running there in huge hollow waves and heavy swells, unless there should happen to be safe land-locked bays on this side. At the expiration of four glasses of the first watch, we shaped our course due east. Variation  $7^{\circ} 30'$  N.E.

Item the 14th do. At noon latitude observed  $42^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $189^{\circ} 3'$ ; course kept east, sailed twelve miles. We were about two miles off the coast, which showed as a very high double land, but we could not see the summits of the mountains, owing to thick clouds. We shaped our course to northward along the coast, so near to it that we could constantly see the surf break on the shore. In the afternoon we took soundings at about two miles' distance from the coast, in 55 fathom, a sticky sandy soil, after which it fell a calm. Towards evening we saw a low-lying point north-east by north of us, at about three miles' distance; the greater part of the time we were drifting in a calm towards the said point; in the middle of the afternoon we took soundings in 45 fathom, a sticky sandy bottom. The whole night we drifted in a calm, the sea running from the west-north-west, so that we got near the land in 28 fathom, good anchoring-ground, where, on account of the calm, and for fear of drifting nearer to the shore, we ran out our kedge-anchor during the day-watch, and are now waiting for the land-wind.

Item the 15th do. In the morning with a light breeze blowing from the land, we weighed anchor, and did our best to run out to sea a little, our course being north-west by north; we then had the northernmost low-lying point of the day before, north-north-east and north-east by north of us. This land consists of a high double mountain-range, not lower than Ilha Formosa. At noon, latitude observed  $41^{\circ} 40'$ , longitude  $189^{\circ} 49'$ ; course kept north-north-east, sailed eight miles; the point we had seen the day before, now lay south-east of us, at two and a half miles' distance; northward from this point extends a large rocky reef; on this reef, projecting from the sea, there are a number of high steep cliffs, resembling steeples or sails; one mile west of this point we could sound no bottom. As we still saw this high land extend to north-north-east of us, we from here held our course due north, with good, dry weather and smooth water. From the said low point with the cliffs, the land makes a large curve to the north-east, trending first due east, and afterwards due north again. The point aforesaid is in latitude  $41^{\circ} 50'$  south. The wind was blowing from the west. It was easy to see here that in these parts the land must be very desolate; we saw no human beings nor any smoke rising; nor can the people here have any boats, since we did not see any signs of them; in the evening we found  $8^{\circ}$  N.E. variation of the compass.

Item the 16th do. At six glasses before the day we took soundings in 60 fathom good anchoring-ground. The northernmost point we had in sight then bore from us north-east by east, at three miles' distance, and the nearest land lay south-east of us at one and a half miles' distance. We drifted in a calm, with good weather and smooth water; at noon latitude observed  $40^{\circ} 58'$ , average longitude  $189^{\circ} 54'$ ; course kept north-north-east, sailed eleven miles; we drifted in a calm the whole afternoon; in the evening at sunset we had  $9^{\circ} 23'$  increasing N.E. variation; the wind then went round to south-west with a freshening breeze; we found the farthest point of the land that we could see to bear from us east by north, the land falling off so abruptly there that we did not doubt that this was the farthest extremity. We now convened our council with the second mates, with whom we resolved to run north-east and east-north-east till the end of the first watch, and then to sail near the wind, wind and weather not changing, as may *in extenso* be seen from this day's resolution. During the night in the sixth glass, it fell calm

again, so that we stuck to the east-north-east course; although in the fifth glass of the dog-watch, we had the point we had seen in the evening, south-east of us, we could not sail higher than east-north-east slightly easterly, owing to the sharpness of the wind; in the first watch we took soundings once, and a second time in the dog-watch, in 60 fathom, clean, grey sand. In the second glass of the day-watch we got a breeze from the south-east, upon which we tacked for the shore again.

Item the 17th do. In the morning at sunrise we were about one mile from the shore; in various places we saw smoke ascending from fires made by the natives; the wind then being south and blowing from the land, we again tacked to eastward. At noon latitude estimated  $40^{\circ} 32'$ , longitude  $190^{\circ} 47'$ ; course kept north-east by east, sailed twelve miles; in the afternoon the wind being west, we held our course east by south, along a low-lying shore with dunes, in good dry weather; we sounded in 30 fathom, black sand, so that by night one had better approach this land aforesaid, sounding; we then made for this sandy point, until we got in 17 fathom, where we cast anchor at sunset owing to a calm, when we had the northern extremity of this dry sandspit west by north of us; also high land extending to east by south; the point of the reef south-east of us; here, inside this point or narrow sandspit, we saw a large open bay upwards of three or four miles wide; to eastward of this narrow sandspit there is a sandbank upwards of a mile in length, with six, seven, eight and nine feet of water above it, and projecting east-south-east from the said point. In the evening we had  $9^{\circ}$  N.E. variation.

Item the 18th do. In the morning we weighed anchor in calm weather; at noon latitude estimated  $40^{\circ} 49'$ , longitude  $191^{\circ} 41'$ ; course kept east-south-east, sailed eleven miles. In the morning before weighing anchor, we had resolved with the officers of the *Zeehaen*, that we should try to get ashore here, and find a good harbour; and that, as we neared it, we should send out the pinnace to reconnoitre; all which may *in extenso* be seen from this day's resolution. In the afternoon our skipper Ide Tiercxz and our pilot-major Francoys Jacobsz, in the pinnace, and Supercargo Gilsemans with one of the second mates of the *Zeehaen* in the latter's cock-boat, went on before to seek a fitting anchorage and a good watering-place. At sunset, when it fell a calm, we dropped anchor in fifteen fathom, good anchoring-ground; in the evening, about an hour after

at sunset, we saw a number of lights on shore and four boats close in-shore, two of which came towards us, upon which our own two boats returned on board; they reported that they had found no less than thirteen fathom water, and that when the sun sank behind the high land, they were still about half a mile from shore. When our men had been on board for the space of about one glass, the men in the two prows began to call out to us in a rough, hollow voice, but we could not understand a word of what they said. We, however, called out to them in answer, upon which they repeated their cries several times, but came no nearer than a stone shot; they also blew several times on an instrument of which the sound was like that of a Moorish trumpet; we then ordered one of our sailors (who had some knowledge of trumpet-blowing) to play them some tunes in answer. Those on board the *Zeehaen* ordered their second mate (who had come out to India as a trumpeter, and had in the Mauritius been appointed second mate by the council of that fortress and the ships) to do the same; after this had been repeated several times on both sides, and as it was getting more and more dark, those in the native prows at last ceased, and paddled off. For more security, and to be on our guard against all accidents, we ordered our men to keep double watches, as we are wont to do, when out at sea, and to keep in readiness all necessaries of war, such as muskets, pikes and cutlasses. We cleaned the guns on the upper-orlop, and placed them again, in order to prevent surprises, and be able to defend ourselves, if these people should happen to attempt anything against us. Variation 9° N.E.

Item the 19th do. Early in the morning a boat manned with thirteen natives approached to about a stone's cast from our ships; they called out several times, but we did not understand them, their speech not bearing any resemblance to the vocabulary given us by the Hon. Governor-General and Councillors of India, which is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that it contains the language of the Salomonis islands, etc. As far as we could observe, these people were of ordinary height; they had rough voices and strong bones, the colour of their skin being between brown and yellow; they wore tufts of black hair right upon the top of their heads, tied fast in the manner of the Japanese at the back of their heads, but somewhat longer and thicker, and surmounted by a large, thick white feather. Their boats consisted of two long narrow prows side by side, over which a

number of planks or other seats were placed in such a way that those above can look through the water underneath the vessel; their paddles are upwards of a fathom in length, narrow and pointed at the end; with these vessels they could make considerable speed. For clothing, as it seemed to us, some of them wore mats, others cotton stuffs; almost all of them were naked from the shoulders to the waist. We repeatedly made signs for them to come on board of us, showing them white linen and some knives that formed part of our cargo. They did not come nearer, however, but at last paddled back to shore. In the meanwhile, at our summons sent the previous evening, the officers of the *Zeehaen* came on board of us, upon which we convened a council, resolved to go as near the shore as we could, since there was good anchoring-ground here, and these people apparently sought our friendship. Shortly after we had drawn up this resolution we saw seven more boats put off from the shore, one of which (high and pointed in front, manned with seventeen natives) paddled round behind the *Zeehaen*, while another with thirteen able-bodied men in her, approached to within half a stone's throw of our ship; the men in these two boats now and then called out to each other; we held up and showed to them, as before, white linens, etc., but they remained where they were. The skipper of the *Zeehaen* now sent out to them his quartermaster with her cock-boat with six paddlers in it, with orders for the second mates, that if these people should offer to come alongside the *Zeehaen*, they should not allow too many of them on board of her, but use great caution and be well on their guard. While the cock-boat of the *Zeehaen* was paddling on its way to her, those in the prow nearest to us called out to those who were lying behind the *Zeehaen* and waved their paddles to them, but we could not make out what they meant. Just as the cock-boat of the *Zeehaen* had put off from board again, those in the prow before us, between the two ships, began to paddle so furiously towards it, that, when they were about half-way slightly nearer to our ship, they struck the *Zeehaen*'s cock-boat so violently alongside with the stem of their prow, that it got a violent lurch, upon which the foremost man in this prow of villains with a long, blunt pike thrust the quartermaster Cornelis Joppen in the neck several times with so much force, that the poor man fell overboard. Upon this the other natives, with short thick clubs, which we at first mistook for heavy blunt parangs, and with their paddles, fell upon the men in the cock-boat and over-

came them by main force, in which fray three of our men were killed, and a fourth got mortally wounded through the heavy blows. The quartermaster and two sailors swam to our ship, whence we had sent our pinnace to pick them up, which they got into alive. After this outrageous and detestable crime the murderers sent the cock-boat adrift, having taken one of the dead bodies into their prow and thrown another into the sea. Ourselves and those on board the *Zeehaen* seeing this, diligently fired our muskets and guns, and though we did not hit any of them, the two prows made haste to the shore, where they were out of the reach of shot. With our fore upper-deck and bow guns we now fired several shots in the direction of their prows, but none of them took effect. Thereupon our skipper Ide Tercxsen Holman in command of our pinnace, well manned and armed, rowed towards the cock-boat of the *Zeehaen* (which, fortunately for us, these accursed villains had let drift), and forthwith returned with it to our ships, having found in it one of the men killed and one mortally wounded. We now weighed anchor and set sail, since we could not hope to enter into any friendly relations with these people, or to be able to get water or refreshments here. Having weighed anchor and being under sail, we saw twenty-two prows near the shore, of which eleven, swarming with people, were making for our ships. We kept quiet until some of the foremost were within reach of our guns, and then fired one or two shots from the gun-room with our pieces, without, however, doing them any harm; those on board the *Zeehaen* also fired, and in the largest prow hit a man who held a small white flag in his hand, and who fell down. We also heard the canister-shot strike the prows inside and outside, but could not make out what other damage it had done. As soon as they had got this volley, they paddled back to shore with great speed, two of them hoisting a sort of tingang sails. They remained lying near the shore without visiting us any further. About noon skipper Gerrit Jansz. and Mr. Gilsemans again came on board of us; we also sent for their first mate, and convened the council, with whom we drew up the resolution following, to wit: Seeing that the detestable deed of these natives against four men of the *Zeehaen's* crew, perpetrated this morning, must teach us to consider the inhabitants of this country as enemies; that, therefore, it will be best to sail eastward along the coast, following the trend of the land, in order to ascertain whether there are any fitting places, where refresh-

ments and water would be obtainable; all of which will be found set forth *in extenso* in this day's resolution. In this murderous spot (to which we have accordingly given the name of *Moordenaersbay*), we lay at anchor in  $40^{\circ} 50'$  S. latitude,  $191^{\circ} 30'$  longitude. From here we shaped our course east-north-east. At noon latitude estimated  $40^{\circ} 57'$ , longitude  $191^{\circ} 41'$ ; course kept south, sailed two miles. In the afternoon we got the wind from the west-north-west, when, by the advice of our steersmen and with our own approval, we turned our course north-east by north. During the night we kept sailing, as the weather was favourable, but about an hour after midnight we sounded in 25 or 26 fathom, a hard, sandy bottom. Soon after, the wind went round to north-west, and we sounded in 15 fathom; we forthwith tacked to await the day, turning our course to westward, exactly contrary to the direction by which we had entered. Variation  $9^{\circ} 30'$  N.E.

This is the second land which we have sailed along and discovered. In honour of Their High Mightinesses the States-General we gave to this land the name of *Staten Landt*, since we deemed it quite possible that this land is part of the great Staten Landt, though this is not certain. This land seems to be a very fine country, and we trust that this is the mainland coast of the unknown South-land. To this course we have given the name of *Abel Tasman passagie*, because he has been the first to navigate it.

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[The old notion of Schouten, Lemaire, and others that a vast South-land stretched right across the Antarctic thus led Tasman to believe that 'New Zealand' and 'Australia' were both parts of that one great mainland. After leaving the west coast of Staten Land they sailed in a northerly direction until on 19th January and subsequent days they discovered various islands forming parts of the Tonga Archipelago or Friendly Isles. On 6th February they came up with the Fiji Islands, and during April skirted the north coasts of New Ireland, New Hanover, and New Britain—separate islands which they mistakenly imagined formed an unbroken coast-line. Following the north coast of New Guinea, Tasman and his companions landed at Batavia on the 15th of June 1643, having completed a series of discoveries which were of the first importance for the future.]



## COOK

### *Introductory Note.*

JAMES COOK was born on 27th October 1728, in the hamlet of Marton at the foot of the Cleveland hills in North Yorkshire. At the age of eight he went with his parents, who were humble country-folk, to live at Great Ayton, about five miles from Marton. Here he attended the village school until he was twelve years old, when he was bound an apprentice to a shopkeeper at Staithes near



Australasia as mapped before Cook's discoveries

Whitby. To a boy of Cook's temperament the dull monotony of shop life soon became intolerable. He ran away to sea on board a Whitby collier. From 1742 to 1755 he travelled up and down the East coast in dirty coasting ships, buffeted by North Sea gales and enduring the utmost hardships. It was a rough school, but it taught James Cook practical seamanship and a habit of unflinching endurance which were invaluable assets in his later career. By the end of

this period he had risen to the position of mate; but no other details have survived. On the outbreak of the 'Seven Years' War Cook joined the Navy as an able seaman on board the *Eagle* bound for North America. In this capacity he soon became a marked man, so that at the age of thirty he was given command of the *Mercury* and ordered to proceed to the siege of Quebec. Wolfe entrusted him during those famous operations with the difficult and dangerous task of taking soundings of the St. Laurence immediately in front of the French camp. Cook nearly lost his life in the attempt, but returned with a complete and correct chart of the channels and its depths. He was then ordered to survey the intricacies of the river below Quebec, which he accomplished with the same minute accuracy and thoroughness. It says much for his grit and perseverance that a boy who ran away to sea, just able to read and write, should have so equipped himself by his own unaided efforts under such adverse circumstances.

On 22nd September 1759 Cook was appointed master of the man-of-war *Northumberland* which carried the Admiral's flag. Three years later he returned to England, married one Elizabeth Batts, and set himself to increase his stock of scientific knowledge. A respite of a few months was followed by four years' hard work on board the schooner *Grenville*, charting the coast of Newfoundland. So accurate and exhaustive were his surveys that they have been only partially superseded by modern charts. His famous voyage of discovery in the Pacific (1768-71) has been already outlined. Therein he showed in a heightened degree those qualities of courage, dogged persistence, and scientific accuracy which had marked his earlier enterprises. His second great voyage in command of the *Resolution* and the *Adventure*, which was begun in July 1772, was intended 'to complete the discovery of the Southern Hemisphere', and in particular to explore the Antarctic Continent which had not been found in the previous expedition. The ensuing enterprise constitutes a story of hardships endured which is scarcely rivalled even by Captain Scott in the twentieth century. Proceeding by the Cape of Good Hope, Cook sailed southward until stopped by impenetrable fields of ice. Steering north, his crews were given three months at New Zealand and Otaheite for rest and refitting. Then south once more, only to encounter the same ice barrier and the same impossibility of further progress. In the Spring of 1774 he was back again in more northerly latitudes, discovering the Sandwich Islands, Pal-

merston Island, New Caledonia, and others, preparatory to making his third attempt to find the long-sought Southern Continent. Lonely Georgia was found, covered with snow and ice, even though it was midsummer in the Antarctic. But the limit of human endurance had been reached. The ship's tackle was falling to pieces from decay and the food was rotting. Cook was reluctantly compelled to abandon the quest and steer for home. When the *Resolution* arrived at Spithead on 30th July 1775, its commander had not only circumnavigated the globe about the Antarctic circle, but he had finally demonstrated that even on a three-years' voyage scurvy could be eliminated by constant supervision.

Most men, after thirty years of gruelling sea-life, would have been content to end their days in comfort on shore. Yet within twelve months Cook was off again—this time to battle with the ice-floes of the Northern Pole in an endeavour to solve that other great riddle, the North-West Passage. After touching at Van Dieman's Land, the Friendly Isles, the Society Isles, and the Sandwich Islands, he steered north-east until he fell in with the west coast of North America, which was followed until ice was reached once more. No passage could be found and the season was far spent, so Cook returned to winter at the Sandwich Islands. When the Spring came another attempt could be made. But it was not to be. Enraged by the accidental killing of one of their chiefs, the natives of Hawaii attacked the English sailors as they landed on the beach. Captain Cook fell dead, stabbed in the back with a dagger. Thus died on 14th February 1779, in the fifty-second year of his age, one of the greatest of all navigators.



## CAPTAIN JAMES COOK'S

### *First Voyage Round the World.*

*The Passage from Oteroah to New Zealand—Incidents which happened on going ashore there, and while the Ship lay in Poverty Bay.*

WE sailed from Oteroah on the 15th of August, and on Friday the 25th we celebrated the anniversary of our leaving England, by taking a Cheshire cheese from a locker, where it had been carefully treasured up for this occasion, and tapping a cask of porter, which proved to be very good, and in excellent order. On the 29th, one of the sailors got so drunk, that the next morning he died: we thought at first that he could not have come honestly by the liquor, but we afterwards learned that the boatswain, whose mate he was, had, in mere good nature, given him part of a bottle of rum.

On the 30th, we saw the comet; at one o'clock in the morning, it was a little above the horizon in the eastern part of the heavens; at about half an hour after four it passed the meridian, and its tail subtended an angle of forty-two degrees. Our latitude was  $38^{\circ} 20'$  S., our longitude, by log,  $147^{\circ} 6'$  W., and the variation of the needle, by the azimuth,  $7^{\circ} 9'$  E. Among others that observed the comet, was Tupia, who instantly cried out, that as soon as it should be seen by the people of Bolabola, they would kill the inhabitants of Ulietea, who would, with the utmost precipitation, fly to the mountains.

On the 1st of September, being in the latitude of  $40^{\circ} 22'$  S., and longitude  $147^{\circ} 29'$  W., and there not being any signs of land, with a heavy sea from the westward, and strong gales, I wore, and stood back to the northward, fearing that we might receive such damage in our sails and rigging, as would hinder the prosecution of the voyage. On the next day, there being strong gales to the westward, I brought to, with the ship's head to the northward: but in the morning of the 3rd, the wind being more moderate, we loosened the reef of the main-sail, set the top-sails, and plied to the westward.

We continued our course till the 19th, when our latitude being  $29^{\circ}$ , and our longitude  $159^{\circ} 29'$ , we observed the variation to be  $8^{\circ} 32'$  E. On the 24th, being in latitude  $33^{\circ} 18'$ , longitude  $162^{\circ} 51'$ , we observed a small piece of sea-weed, and a piece of wood covered with barnacles: the variation here was  $10^{\circ} 48'$  E. On the 27th, being in latitude  $28^{\circ} 59'$ , longitude  $169^{\circ} 5'$ , we saw a seal

asleep upon the water, and several bunches of sea-weed. The next day we saw more sea-weed in bunches, and on the 29th, a bird, which we thought a land-bird; it somewhat resembled a snipe, but had a short bill. On the 1st of October, we saw birds innumerable, and another seal asleep upon the water; it is a general opinion, that seals never go out of soundings, or far from land, but those that we



A coasting vessel of Cook's time

saw in these seas prove the contrary. Rock-weed is, however, a certain indication that land is not far distant. The next day, it being calm, we hoisted out the boat, to try whether there was a current, but found none. Our latitude was  $37^{\circ} 10'$ , longitude  $172^{\circ} 54' W$ . On the 3rd, being in latitude  $36^{\circ} 56'$ , longitude  $173^{\circ} 27'$ , we took up more sea-weed, and another piece of wood covered with barnacles.

The next day, we saw two more seals, and a brown bird, about as big as a raven, with some white feathers under the wing. Mr. Gore told us, that birds of this kind were seen in great numbers about Falkland's Islands, and our people gave them the name of Port Egmont hens.

On the 5th, we thought the water changed colour, but, upon casting the lead, had no ground with 180 fathom. In the evening of this day, the variation was  $12^{\circ} 50'$  E., and, while we were going nine leagues, it increased to  $14^{\circ} 2'$ . On the next day, Friday, October the 6th, we saw land from the mast-head, bearing W. by N., and stood directly for it; in the evening it could just be discerned from the deck, and appeared large. The variation this day was, by azimuth and amplitude,  $15^{\circ} 4\frac{1}{2}'$  E., and by observation made of the sun and moon, the longitude of the ship appeared to be  $180^{\circ} 55'$  W., and by the medium of this and subsequent observations, there appeared to be an error in the ship's account of longitude during her run from Otaheite of  $3^{\circ} 16'$ , she being so much to the westward of the longitude resulting from the log. At midnight, I brought to and sounded, but had no ground with one hundred and seventy fathom.

On the 7th, it fell calm, we therefore approached the land slowly, and in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up, we were still distant seven or eight leagues. It appeared still larger as it was more distinctly seen, with four or five ranges of hills one over the other, and a chain of mountains above all, which appeared to be of an enormous height. This land became the subject of much eager conversation; but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found the *Terra australis incognita*. About five o'clock, we saw the opening of a bay, which seemed to run pretty far inland, upon which we hauled our wind and stood in for it; we also saw smoke ascending from different places on shore. When night came on, however, we kept plying off and on till day-light, when we found ourselves to the leeward of the bay, the wind being at north: we could now perceive that the hills were clothed with wood, and that some of the trees in the valleys were very large. By noon we fetched in with the south-west point; but not being able to weather it, tacked and stood off: at this time we saw several canoes standing across the bay, which, in a little time, made to shore, without seeming to take the least notice of the ship; we also saw some houses, which appeared to be small, but neat; and near one of them a considerable number of the people collected to-

gether, who were sitting upon the beach, and who, we thought, were the same that we had seen in the canoes. Upon a small peninsula, at the north-east head, we could plainly perceive a pretty high and regular paling, which inclosed the whole top of a hill; this was also the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park of deer, others an inclosure for oxen and sheep. About four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored on the north-west side of the bay, before the entrance of a small river, in ten fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, and at about half a league from the shore. The sides of the bay are white cliffs of a great height; the middle is low land, with hills gradually rising behind, one towering above another, and terminating in the chain of mountains, which appeared to be far inland.

In the evening I went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with the pinnace and yawl, and a party of men. We landed abreast of the ship, on the east side of the river, which was here about forty yards broad; but seeing some natives on the west side whom I wished to speak with, and finding the river not fordable, I ordered the yawl in to carry us over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When we came near the place where the people were assembled, they all ran away; however, we landed, and leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, we walked up to some huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. When we had got some distance from the boat, four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up to attack the boat, would certainly have cut her off, if the people in the pinnace had not discovered them, and called to the boys to drop down the stream: the boys instantly obeyed; but being closely pursued by the Indians, the cockswain of the pinnace, who had the charge of the boats, fired a musket over their heads; at this they stopped and looked round them, but in a few minutes renewed the pursuit, brandishing their lances in a threatening manner: the cockswain then fired a second musket over their heads, but of this they took no notice; and one of them lifting up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, which shot him dead. When he fell, the other three stood motionless for some minutes, as if petrified with astonishment; as soon as they recovered, they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they soon left, that it might not encumber their flight.

*A general account of New Zealand: its first discovery, situation, extent, climate, and productions.*

NEW ZEALAND was first discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, a Dutch navigator, whose name has been several times mentioned in this narrative, on the 13th of December, in the year 1642. He traversed the eastern coast from latitude  $34^{\circ}$  to  $43^{\circ}$ , and entered the strait which divides the two islands, and in the chart is called Cook's Strait; but being attacked by the natives soon after he came to an anchor, in the place to which he gave the name of Murderer's Bay, he never went on shore. He gave the country the name of Staaten Land, or the land of the States, in honour of the states-general, and it is now generally distinguished in our maps and charts by the name of New Zealand. As the whole of this country, except that part of the coast which was seen by Tasman from on board his ship, has from his time, to the voyage of the *Endeavour*, remained altogether unknown, it has by many been supposed to be part of a southern continent. It is, however, now known to consist of two large islands, divided from each other by a strait or passage, which is about four or five leagues broad. These islands are situated between the latitudes of  $34^{\circ}$  and  $48^{\circ}$  S., and between the longitudes of  $181^{\circ}$  and  $194^{\circ}$  W., which is now determined with uncommon exactness, from innumerable observations of the sun and moon, and one of the transits of Mercury, by Mr. Green, a person of known abilities, who, as has been mentioned before, was sent out by the Royal Society, to observe the transit of Venus in the South Seas.

The northernmost of these islands is called by the natives Eaheino-mauwe, and the southernmost Tovy, or Tavai Poenammoo; yet, as I have observed before, we are not sure whether the name Tovy Poenammoo comprehends the whole southern island, or only part of it. The figure and extent of these islands, with the situation of the bays and harbours they contain, and the smaller islands that lie about them, will appear from the chart that I have drawn, every part of which, however, I cannot vouch to be equally accurate. The coast of Eaheinomauwe, from Cape Palliser to East Cape, is laid down with great exactness both in its figure, and the course and distance from point to point; for the opportunities that offered, and the methods that I used, were such as could scarcely admit of an error. From East Cape to St. Maria van Diemen, the chart, though per-

haps not equally exact, is without any error of moment, except possibly in some few places which are here, and in other parts of the chart, distinguished by a dotted line, and which I had no opportunity to examine; from Cape Maria van Diemen to latitude  $36^{\circ} 15'$ , we were seldom nearer the shore than between five and eight leagues; and therefore the line that marks the sea-coast may possibly be erroneous. From latitude  $36^{\circ} 15'$ , to nearly the length of Entry Island, our course was very near the shore, and in this part of the chart therefore there can be no material error, except perhaps at Cape Tierawitte. Between Entry Island and Cape Palliser we were again farther from the shore, and this part of the coast, therefore, may not be laid down with minute exactness; yet, upon the whole, I am of opinion that this island will be found not much to differ from the figure that I have given it, and that upon the coast there are few or no harbours which are not noticed in the journal, or delineated in the chart. I cannot, however, say as much of Tovy Poenammoo: the season of the year, and the circumstances of the voyage, would not permit me to spend so much time about this island as I had employed upon the other; and the storms that we met with made it both difficult and dangerous to keep near the shore. However, from Queen Charlotte's Sound to Cape Campbell, and as far to the S.W. as latitude  $43^{\circ}$ , the chart will be found pretty accurate. Between latitude  $43^{\circ}$  and latitude  $44^{\circ} 20'$  the line may be doubted, for of some part of the coast which it represents we had scarcely a view. From latitude  $44^{\circ} 20'$ , to Cape Saunders, our distance would not permit me to be particular, and the weather was besides extremely unfavourable. From Cape Saunders to Cape South, and even to Cape West, there is also reason to fear that the chart will in many places be found erroneous, as we were seldom able to keep the shore, and were sometimes blown to such a distance that it could not be seen. From Cape West to Cape Farewell, and even to Charlotte's Sound, it is not more to be trusted.

Tovy Poenammoo is for the most part a mountainous, and to all appearance a barren country; and the people whom we saw in Queen Charlotte's Sound, those that came off to us under the snowy mountains, and the fires to the west of Cape Saunders, were all the inhabitants, and signs of inhabitants, that we discovered upon the whole island. Eaheinomauwe has a much better appearance; it is indeed not only hilly but mountainous, yet even the hills and moun-

tains are covered with wood, and every valley has a rivulet of water: the soil in these valleys, and in the plains, of which there are many that are not overgrown with wood, is in general light but fertile, and in the opinion of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, as well as of every other gentleman on board, all kinds of European grain, plants, and fruit, would flourish here in the utmost luxuriance: from the vegetables that we found here, there is reason to conclude that the winters are milder than those in England, and we found the summer not hotter, though it was more equally warm; so that if this country should be settled by people from Europe, they would, with a little industry, be very soon supplied not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life in great abundance.

In this country there are no quadrupeds but dogs and rats, at least we saw no other, and the rats are so scarce that many of us never saw them. The dogs live with the people, who breed them for no other purpose than to eat: there might indeed be quadrupeds that we did not see; but this is not probable, because the chief pride of the natives, with respect to their dress, is in the skins and hair of such animals as they have, and we never saw the skin of any animal about them but those of dogs and birds: there are indeed seals upon the coast, and we once saw a sea-lion, but we imagine they are seldom caught, for though we saw some of their teeth, which were fashioned into an ornament like a bodkin, and worn by the natives at their breast, and highly valued, we saw none of their skins: there are whales also upon this coast, and though the people did not appear to have any art or instrument by which such an animal could be taken and killed, we saw pattoo-pattoos in the possession of some of them, which were made of the bone of a whale, or of some other animal whose bone had exactly the same appearance.

Of birds the species are not many; and of these none, except perhaps the gannet, is the same with those of Europe: here are ducks indeed, and shags of several kinds, sufficiently resembling those of Europe to be called the same, by those who have not examined them very nicely. Here are also hawks, owls, and quails, which differ but little from those of Europe at first sight; and several small birds, whose song, as has been remarked in the course of the narrative, is much more melodious than any that we had ever heard. The sea-coast is also visited by many oceanic birds, particularly albatrosses, sheerwaters, pintados, and a few of the birds which Sir John Nar-

borough has called Penguins, and which indeed are what the French call *Nuance*, and seem to be a middle species between bird and fish; for their feathers, especially those upon their wings, differ very little from scales; and their wings themselves, which they use only in diving, and not to accelerate their motion even upon the surface of the water, may, perhaps with equal propriety, be called fins. Neither are insects in greater plenty than birds: a few butterflies and beetles, flesh flies, very like those in Europe, and some musquitos and sand flies, perhaps exactly the same with those of North America, make up the whole catalogue. Of musquitos and sand flies, however, which are justly accounted the curse of every country where they abound, we did not see many: there were indeed a few in almost every place where we went on shore, but they gave us so little trouble, that we did not make use of the shades which we had provided for the security of our faces.

For this scarcity of animals upon the land, the sea, however, makes an abundant recompense; every creek swarming with fish, which are not only wholesome, but equally delicious with those of Europe: the ship seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, that did not afford us enough with hook and line to serve the whole ship's company, especially to the southward: when we lay at anchor, the boats, with hook and line, near the rocks, could take fish in any quantity; and the seine seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply: so that both times when we anchored in Cook's Strait, every mess in the ship, that was not careless and improvident, salted as much as lasted many weeks after they went to sea. Of this article, the variety was equal to the plenty; we had mackerel of many kinds, among which, one was exactly the same as we have in England: these came in immense shoals, and were taken by the natives in their seines, who sold them to us at a very easy rate. Besides these, there were fish of many species which we had never seen before, but to all which the seamen very readily gave names: so that we talked here as familiarly of hakes, bream, cole-fish, and many others, as we do in England; and though they are by no means of the same family, it must be confessed that they do honour to the name. But the highest luxury which the sea afforded us, even in this place, was the lobster or sea cray-fish, which are probably the same that in the account of Lord Anson's Voyage are said to have been found at the island of Juan Fernandez, except that, although

large, they are not quite equal in size: they differ from ours in England in several particulars; they have a greater number of prickles on their backs, and they are red when first taken out of the water. These we also bought everywhere to the northward in great quantities of the natives, who catch them by diving near the shore, and finding out where they lie with their feet. We had also a fish that Frezier, in his Voyage to the Spanish Main in South America, has described by the names of *Elefant*, *Pejegallo*, or *Poison Coq*, which, though coarse, we eat very heartily. Several species of the skate, or sting-ray, are also found here, which were still coarser than the *Elefant*; but as an atonement, we had among many kinds of dog-fish one spotted with white, which was in flavour exactly similar to our best skate, but much more delicious. We had also flat fish resembling both soles and flounders, besides eels and congers of various kinds, with many others of which those who shall hereafter visit this coast will not fail to find the advantage; and shell-fish in great variety, particularly clams, cockles, and oysters.

Among the vegetable productions of this country, the trees claim a principal place; for here are forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber trees that we had ever seen: their size, their grain, and apparent durability, render them fit for any kind of building, and indeed for every other purpose except masts; for which, as I have already observed, they are too hard, and too heavy: there is one in particular which, when we were upon the coast, was rendered conspicuous by a scarlet flower, that seemed to be a compendage of many fibres; it is about as large as an oak, and the wood is exceedingly hard and heavy, and excellently adapted to the use of the millwright. There is another which grows in the swamps, remarkably tall and straight, thick enough to make masts for vessels of any size, and, if a judgment may be formed by the direction of its grain, very tough: this, which, as has been before remarked, our carpenter thought to resemble the pitch-pine, may probably be lightened by tapping, and it will then make the finest masts in the world: it has a leaf not unlike a yew, and bears berries in small bunches.

Great part of the country is covered with a luxuriant verdure, and our natural historians were gratified by the novelty, if not the variety of the plants. Sow-thistle, garden nightshade, one or two kinds of grass, the same as in England, and two or three kinds of fern, like

those of the West Indies, with a few of the plants that are to be found in almost every part of the world, were all, out of about four hundred species, that have hitherto been described by any botanists, or had been seen elsewhere during the course of this voyage, except about five or six which had been gathered at Terra del Fuego.

Of eatable vegetables there are but few; our people, indeed, who had been long at sea, eat, with equal pleasure and advantage, of wild celery, and a kind of cresses, which grew in great abundance upon all parts of the sea-shore. We also, once or twice, met with a plant like what the country people in England call *Lamb's quarters*, or Fat-hen, which we boiled instead of greens; and once we had the good fortune to find a cabbage-tree, which afforded us a delicious meal; and, except the fern-root, and one other vegetable, totally unknown in Europe, and which, though eaten by the natives, was extremely disagreeable to us, we found no other vegetable production that was fit for food, among those that appeared to be the wild produce of the country; and we could find but three esculent plants among those which are raised by cultivation—yams, sweet potatoes, and cocos. Of the yams and potatoes there are plantations consisting of many acres; and I believe that any ship which should happen to be here in the autumn, when they are dug up, might purchase them in any quantity. Gourds are also cultivated by the natives of this place, the fruit of which furnishes them with vessels for various uses. We also found here the Chinese paper mulberry-tree, the same as that of which the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands make their cloth; but it is so scarce, that though the New Zealanders also make cloth of it, they have not enough for any other purpose than to wear as an ornament in the holes which they make in their ears, as I have observed before.

But among all the trees, shrubs, and plants of this country, there is not one that produces fruit, except a berry, which has neither sweetness nor flavour, and which none but the boys took pains to gather, should be honoured with that appellation. There is, however, a plant that serves the inhabitants instead of hemp and flax, which excels all that are put to the same purposes in other countries. Of this plant there are two sorts; the leaves of both resemble those of flax, but the flowers are smaller, and their clusters more numerous. In one kind they are yellow, and in the other a deep red. Of the leaves of these plants, with very little preparation, they make all

their common apparel; and of these they make also their strings, lines, and cordage for every purpose, which are so much stronger than anything we can make with hemp, that they will not bear a comparison. From the same plant, by another preparation, they draw long slender fibres which shine like silk, and are as white as snow: of these, which are also surprisingly strong, the finer clothes are made; and of the leaves, without any other preparation then splitting them into proper breadths, and tying the strips together, they make their fishing nets; some of which, as I have before remarked, are of an enormous size. A plant which, with such advantage, might be applied to so many useful and important purposes, would certainly be a great acquisition to England, where it would probably thrive with very little trouble, as it seems to be hardy, and to affect no particular soil; being found equally in hill and valley; in the driest mould, and the deepest bogs: the bog, however, it seems rather to prefer, as near such places we observed it to be larger than elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

I have already observed, that we found great plenty of iron sand in Mercury Bay, and therefore that iron ore is undoubtedly to be found at no great distance. As to other metals, we had scarcely knowledge enough of the country for conjecture.

If the settling of this country should ever be thought an object worthy of the attention of Great Britain, the best place for establishing a colony would be either on the banks of the Thames, or in the country bordering upon the Bay of Islands. In either place there would be the advantage of an excellent harbour: and, by means of the river, settlements might be extended, and a communication established with the inland parts of the country: vessels might be built of the fine timber which abounds in these parts, at very little trouble and expense, fit for such a navigation as would answer the purpose. I cannot indeed exactly assign the depth of water which a vessel intended to navigate this river, even as far up as I went with the boat, should draw, because this depends upon the depth of water that is upon the bar, or flats, which lie before the narrow part of the river, for I had no opportunity to make myself acquainted with them; but I am of opinion, that a vessel which should draw not more than twelve feet would perfectly answer the purpose. When we first arrived upon the coast of this country, we imagined it to be

<sup>1</sup> The *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax.

much better peopled than we afterwards found it, concluding that the inland parts were populous from the smoke that we saw at a considerable distance from the shore; and, perhaps, that may really be the case with respect to the country behind Poverty Bay, and the Bay of Plenty, where the inhabitants appeared to be more numerous than in other places. But we had reason to believe, that in general, no part of the country but the sea coast is inhabited; and even there we found the people but thinly scattered, all the western coast from Cape Maria Van Diemen to Mount Egmont being totally desolate; so that upon the whole the number of inhabitants bears no proportion to the extent of country.

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*Of the Canoes and Navigation of the Inhabitants of New Zealand : Their Tillage, Weapons, and Music : Government, Religion, and Language : with some reasons against the existence of a Southern Continent.*

THE ingenuity of these people appears in nothing more than in their canoes: they are long and narrow, and in shape very much resemble a New England whale-boat: the larger sort seem to be built chiefly for war, and will carry from forty to eighty, or a hundred armed men. We measured one which lay ashore at Tolaga: she was sixty-eight feet and a half long, five feet broad, and three feet and a half deep; the bottom was sharp, with straight sides like a wedge, and consisted of three lengths, hollowed out to about two inches, or an inch and a half thick, and well fastened together with strong plaiting: each side consisted of one entire plank, sixty-three feet long, ten or twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a quarter thick, and these were fitted and lashed to the bottom part with great dexterity and strength. A considerable number of thwarts were laid from gunwale to gunwale, to which they were securely lashed on each side, as a strengthening to the boat. The ornament at the head projected five or six feet beyond the body, and was about four feet and a half high; the ornament at the stern was fixed upon that end, as the stern-post of a ship is upon her keel, and was about fourteen feet high, two feet broad, and an inch and a half thick. They both consisted of boards of carved work, of which the design was much better than the execution. All their canoes, except a few at Opoor-



A Maori War Canoe

age or Mercury Bay, which were of one piece, and hollowed by fire. They are built after this plan, and few are less than twenty feet long: some of the smaller sort have outriggers, and sometimes two of them are joined together, but this is not common. The carving upon the stern and head ornaments of the inferior boats, which seemed to be intended wholly for fishing, consists of the figure of a man, with a face as ugly as can be conceived, and a monstrous tongue thrust out of the mouth, with the white shells of sea-ears stuck in for the eyes. But the canoes of the superior kind, which seem to be their men-of-war, are magnificently adorned with open-work, and covered with loose fringes of black feathers, which had a most elegant appearance: the gunwale boards were also frequently carved in a grotesque taste, and adorned with tufts of white feathers placed upon a black ground. Of visible objects that are wholly new, no verbal description can convey a just idea, but in proportion as they resemble some that are already known, to which the mind of the reader must be referred. The carving of these people being of a singular kind, and not in the likeness of anything that is known on our side of the ocean, either 'in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in waters that are under the earth', I must refer wholly to the representations which will be found of it in the cut.

The paddles are small, light, and neatly made; the blade is of an oval shape, or rather of a shape resembling a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft, the whole length being about six feet, of which the shaft or loom including the handle is four, and the blade two. By the help of these oars they push on their boats with amazing velocity. In sailing they are not expert, having no art of going otherwise than before the wind: the sail is of netting or mat, which is set up between two poles that are fixed upright upon each gunwale, and serve both for mast and yards: two ropes answered the purpose of sheets, and were consequently fastened above to the top of each pole. But clumsy and inconvenient as this apparatus is, they make good way before the wind and are steered by two men who sit in the stern, with each a paddle in his hand for that purpose.

Having said thus much of their workmanship, I shall now give some account of their tools: they have adzes, axes, and chisels, which serve them also as augers for the boring of holes: as they have no metal, their adzes and axes are made of a hard black stone, or of a green

talç, which is not only hard but tough; and their chisels of human bone, or small fragments of jasper, which they chip off from a block in sharp angular pieces like a gun-flint. Their axes they value above all that they possess, and never would part with one of them for anything that we could give: I once offered one of the best axes I had in the ship, besides a number of other things, for one of them, but the owner would not sell it; from which I conclude that good ones are scarce among them. Their small tools of jasper, which are used in finishing their nicest work, they use till they are blunt, and then, as they have no means of sharpening them, throw them away. We have given the people at Tolaga a piece of glass, and in a short time they found means to drill a hole through it, in order to hang it round the neck as an ornament by a thread; and we imagine the tool must have been a piece of this jasper. How they bring their large tools first to an edge, and sharpen the weapon which they call *Patoo-Patoo*, we could not certainly learn; but probably it is by bruising the same substance to powder, and, with this, grinding two pieces against each other.

Their nets, particularly their seine, which is of an enormous size, have been mentioned already: one of these seems to be the joint work of a whole town, and I suppose it to be the joint property also: the other net, which is circular, and extended by two or three hoops, has been particularly described, as well as the manner of baiting and using it. Their hooks are of bone or shell, and in general are ill made. To receive the fish when it is caught, and to hold their other provisions, they have baskets of various kinds and dimensions, very neatly made of wicker-work.

They excel in tillage, as might naturally be expected where the person that sows is to eat the produce, and where there is so little besides that can be eaten: when we first came to Tegadoo, a district between Poverty Bay and East Cape, their crops were just covered, and had not yet begun to sprout; the mould was as smooth as in a garden, and every root had its small hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which with the pegs were still remaining in the field. We had not an opportunity to see any of these husbandmen work, but we saw what serves them at once for spade and plough: this instrument is nothing more than a long narrow stake sharpened to an edge at one end, with a short piece fastened transversely at a little distance above it, for the convenience of pressing it down with

the foot. With this they turn up pieces of ground six or seven acres in extent, though it is not more than three inches broad; but as the soil is light and sandy, it makes little resistance. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace, seem to be best known and most practised in the northern part of this country; for there is little appearance of any of them in the south: but the arts of war flourish equally through the whole coast.

Of weapons they have no great variety, but such as they have are well fitted for destruction; they have spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The spear is fourteen or fifteen feet long, pointed at both ends, and sometimes headed with bone: these are grasped by the middle, so that the part behind balancing that before, makes a push more difficult to be parried, than that of a weapon which is held by the end. The dart and other weapons have been sufficiently described already; and it has also been remarked, that these people have neither sling nor bow. They throw the dart by hand, and so they do stones; but darts and stones are seldom used, except in defending their forts. Their battles, whether in boats or on shore, are generally hand to hand, and the slaughter must consequently be great, as a second blow of any of their weapons is unnecessary, if the first takes place: their trust, however, seems to be principally placed in the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists by a strong strap, lest it should be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear sticking in their girdles, considering it as a military ornament, and part of their dress, like the poniard of the Asiatic, and the sword of the European. They have no defensive armour: but, besides their weapons, the chiefs carry a staff of distinction, in the same manner as our officers do the spontoon: this was generally the rib of a whale, as white as snow, with many ornaments of carved work, dog's hair, and feathers; but sometimes it was a stick, about six feet long, adorned in the same manner, and inlaid with a shell like mother-of-pearl. Those who bore this mark of distinction were generally old, at least past the middle age, and were also more marked with the *Amoco* than the rest.

One or more persons, thus distinguished, always appeared in each canoe, when they came to attack us, according to the size of it. When they came within about a cable's length of the ship, they used to stop; and the chiefs rising from their seat, put on a dress which seemed appropriated to the occasion, generally of dog's skin, and

holding out their decorated staff, or weapon, directed the rest of the people what they should do. When they were at too great a distance to reach us with a lance or a stone, they presumed that we had no weapon with which we could reach them; here then the defiance was given, and the words were almost universally the same,—*Haromai, haromai, harre uta a patoo-patoo oge* : ‘Come to us, come on shore, and we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos.’ While they were uttering these menaces, they came gradually nearer and nearer, till they were close alongside; talking at intervals in a peaceable strain, and answering any question that we asked them; and at intervals renewing their defiance and threats, till being encouraged by our apparent timidity, they began their war-song and dance, as a prelude to an attack, which always followed, and was sometimes continued till it became absolutely necessary to repress them by firing some small-shot; and sometimes ended after throwing a few stones on board, as if content with having offered us an insult which we did not dare to revenge.

The war-dance consists of a great variety of violent motions, and hideous contortions of the limbs, during which the countenance also performs its part: the tongue is frequently thrust out to an incredible length, and the eyelids so forcibly drawn up, that the white appears both above and below, as well as on each side of the iris, so as to form a circle round it; nor is anything neglected that can render the human shape frightful and deformed: at the same time they brandish their spears, shake their darts, and cleave the air with their patoo-patoos. This horrid dance is always accompanied by a song; it is wild, indeed, but not disagreeable, and every strain ends in a loud and deep sigh, which they utter in concert. In the motions of the dance, however horrid, there is a strength, firmness, and agility, which we could not but behold with admiration; and in their song they keep time with such exactness, that I have often heard above a hundred paddles struck against the sides of their boats at once, so as to produce but a single sound, at the divisions of their music.

A song not altogether unlike this, they sometimes sing without the dance, and as a peaceable amusement: they have also other songs which are sung by the women, whose voices are remarkably mellow and soft, and have a pleasing and tender effect; the time is slow, and the cadence mournful; but it is conducted with more taste than could be expected among the poor ignorant savages of this half-

desolate country; especially as it appeared to us, who were none of us much acquainted with music as a science, to be sung in parts; it was at least sung by many voices at the same time. They have sonorous instruments, but they can scarcely be called instruments of music; one is the shell, called the Triton's trumpet, with which they make a noise not unlike that which our boys sometimes make with a cow's horn; the other is a small wooden pipe, resembling a child's nine-pin, only much smaller, and in this there is no more music than in a pea-whistle. They seem sensible indeed that these instruments are not musical; for we never heard an attempt to sing to them, or to produce with them any measured tones that bore the least resemblance to a tune.

To what has been already said of the practice of eating human flesh, I shall only add, that in almost every cove where we landed, we found flesh-bones of men near the places where fires had been made; and that among the heads that were brought on board by the old man, some seemed to have false eyes, and ornaments in their ears as if alive. That which Mr. Banks bought was sold with great reluctance by the possessor: the head was manifestly that of a young person about fourteen or fifteen years of age, and by the contusions on one side appeared to have received many violent blows, and indeed a part of the bone near the eye was wanting. These appearances confirmed us in the opinion that the natives of this country give no quarter, nor take any prisoners to be killed and eaten at a future time, as is said to have been a practice among the Indians of Florida: for if prisoners had been taken, this poor young creature, who cannot be supposed capable of making much resistance, would probably have been one, and we knew that he was killed with the rest, for the fray had happened but a few days before.

The towns or Hippahs of these people, which are all fortified, have been sufficiently described already, and from the Bay of Plenty to Queen Charlotte's Sound they seem to be the constant residence of the people: but about Poverty Bay, Hawke's Bay, Tegadoo, and Tolaga, we saw no Hippahs, but single houses scattered at a distance from each other; yet upon the sides of the hills there were stages of a great length, furnished with stones and darts, probably as retreats for the people at the last extremity, as upon these stages a fight may be carried on with much advantage against those below, who may be reached with great effect by darts and stones, which it is impossible

for them to throw up with equal force. And indeed the forts themselves seem to be no farther serviceable than by enabling the possessors to repress a sudden attack; for as there is no supply of water within the lines, it would be impossible to sustain a siege. A considerable stock of fern-root and dry fish is indeed laid up in them; but they may be reserved against seasons of scarcity, and that such seasons there are, our observations left us no room to doubt; besides, while an enemy should be prowling in the neighbourhood, it would be easy to snatch a supply of water from the side of the hill, though it would be impossible to dig up fern-root or catch fish. In this district, however, the people seemed to live in a state of conscious security, and to avail themselves of their advantage: their plantations were more numerous, their canoes were more decorated, and they had not only finer carving, but finer clothes. This part of the coast also was much the most populous, and possibly their apparent peace and plenty might arise from their being united under one Chief, or King; for the inhabitants of all this part of the country told us, that they were the subjects of Teratu: when they pointed to the residence of this prince, it was in a direction which we thought inland; but which, when we knew the country better, we found to be the Bay of Plenty.

It is much to be regretted that we were obliged to leave this country without knowing anything of Teratu but his name. As an Indian monarch, his territory is certainly extensive: he was acknowledged from Cape Kidnappers to the northward, and westward as far as the Bay of Plenty, a length of coast upwards of eighty leagues; and we do not yet know how much farther westward his dominions may extend. Possibly the fortified towns which we saw in the Bay of Plenty may be his barrier; especially as at Mercury Bay he was not acknowledged, nor indeed any other single chief; for wherever we landed, or spoke with the people upon that coast, they told us that we were at but a small distance from their enemies. In the dominions of Teratu we saw several subordinate chiefs, to whom great respect was paid, and by whom justice was probably administered; for upon our complaint to one of them of a theft that had been committed on board the ship by a man that came with him, he gave him several blows and kicks, which the other received as the chastisement of authority, against which no resistance was to be made, and which he had no right to resent. Whether this authority was

possessed by appointment or inheritance we could not learn; but we observed that the chiefs, as well here as in other parts, were elderly men: in other parts, however, we learnt that they possessed their authority by inheritance.

The little societies which we found in the southern parts seemed to have several things in common, particularly their fine clothes and fishing-nets. Their fine clothes, which possibly might be the spoils of war, were kept in a small hut, which was erected for that purpose in the middle of the town: the nets we saw making in almost every house, and the several parts being afterwards collected were joined together. Less account seems to be made of the women here than in the South Sea Islands; such at least was the opinion of Tupia, who complained of it as an indignity to the sex. We observed that the two sexes eat together, but how they divide their labour we do not certainly know. I am inclined to believe that the men till the ground, make nets, catch birds, and go out in their boats to fish; and that the women dig up fern-roots, collect lobsters and other shell-fish near the beach, dress the victuals, and weave cloth: such, at least, were their employments when we had an opportunity of observing them, which was but seldom; for in general our appearance made a holiday wherever we went, men, women and children flocking round us, either to gratify their curiosity, or to purchase some of the valuable merchandise which we carried about with us, consisting principally of nails, paper, and broken glass.

Of the religion of these people it cannot be supposed that we could learn much; they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme, and the rest subordinate; and gave nearly the same account of the origin of the world, and the production of mankind, as our friends in Otaheite. Tupia, however, seemed to have a much more deep and extensive knowledge of these subjects than any of the people here: and whenever he was disposed to instruct them, which he sometimes did in a long discourse, he was sure of a numerous audience, who listened in profound silence, with such reverence and attention, that we could not but wish them a better teacher. What homage they pay to the deities they acknowledge, we could not learn; but we saw no place of public worship, like the Maoris of the South Sea Islands: yet we saw, near a plantation of sweet potatoes, a small area, of a square figure, surrounded with stones, in the middle of which one of the sharpened stakes which they use as a

spade was set up, and upon it was hung a basket of fern-roots. Upon inquiry, the natives told us that it was an offering to the gods, by which the owner hoped to render them propitious, and obtain a plentiful crop.

As to their manner of disposing of their dead, we could form no certain opinion of it, for the accounts that we received by no means agreed. In the northern parts, they told us that they buried them in the ground; and in the southern, that they threw them into the sea: it is, however, certain, that we saw no grave in the country, and that they affected to conceal everything relating to their dead with a kind of mysterious secrecy. But whatever may be the sepulchre, the living are themselves the monuments; for we saw scarcely a single person of either sex whose body was not marked by the scars of wounds which they had inflicted upon themselves as a testimony of their regret for the loss of a relation or friend. Some of these wounds we saw in a state so recent that the blood was scarcely stanch'd, which shows that death had been among them while we were upon the coast; and makes it more extraordinary that no funeral ceremony should have fallen under our notice: some of the scars were very large and deep, and in many instances had greatly disfigured the face. One monument, indeed, we observed of another kind,—the cross that was set up near Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Having now given the best account in my power of the customs and opinions of the inhabitants of New Zealand, with their boats, nets, furniture, and dress, I shall only remark, that the similitude between these particulars here and in the South Sea islands is a very strong proof that the inhabitants have the same origin, and that the common ancestors of both were natives of the same country. They have both a tradition that their ancestors, at a very remote period of time, came from another country; and according to the tradition of both, that the name of that country was Heawije; but the similitude of the language seems to put the matter altogether out of doubt. I have already observed, that Tupia, when he accosted the people here in the language of his own country, was perfectly understood.

But supposing these islands, and those in the South Seas, to have been peopled originally from the same country, it will perhaps for ever remain a doubt what country that is: we were, however, unanimously of opinion, that the people did not come from America, which lies to the eastward; and except there should appear to be a

continent to the southward, in a moderate latitude, it will follow that they came from the westward.

Thus far our navigation has certainly been unfavourable to the notion of a southern continent, for it has swept away at least three-fourths of the positions upon which it has been founded. The principal navigators, whose authority has been urged on this occasion, are Tasman, Juan Fernandez, Hermite, the commander of a Dutch squadron, Quiros, and Roggewein; and the track of the Endeavour has demonstrated that the land seen by these persons, and supposed to be part of a continent, is not so; it has also totally subverted the theoretical arguments which have been brought to prove that the existence of a southern continent is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between the two hemispheres; for upon this principle what we have already proved to be water, would render the southern hemisphere too light. In our route to the northward, after doubling Cape Horn, when we were in the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$ , our longitude was  $110^{\circ}$ ; and in our return to the southward, after leaving Ulietea, when we were again in latitude  $40^{\circ}$ , our longitude was  $145^{\circ}$ ; the difference is  $35^{\circ}$ . When we were in latitude  $30^{\circ}$  the difference of longitude between the two tracks was  $21^{\circ}$ , which continued till we were as low as  $20^{\circ}$ ; but a single view of the chart will convey a better idea of this than the most minute description: yet as upon a view of the chart it will appear that there is a large space extending quite to the tropics, which neither we, nor any other navigators to our knowledge, have explored, and as there will appear to be room enough for the Cape of a southern continent to extend northward into a low southern latitude, I shall give my reason for believing there is no Cape of any southern continent, to the northward of  $40^{\circ}$  south.

Notwithstanding what has been laid down by some geographers in their maps, and alleged by Mr. Dalrymple, with respect to Quiros, it is improbable in the highest degree that he saw to the southward of two islands, which he discovered in latitude  $25^{\circ}$  or  $26^{\circ}$ , and which I suppose may lie between the longitude of  $130^{\circ}$  and  $140^{\circ}$  W., any signs of a continent, much less anything which, in his opinion, was a known or indubitable sign of such land; for if he had, he would certainly have sailed southward in search of it; and if he had sought, supposing the signs to have been indubitable, he must have found: the discovery of a southern continent was the ultimate object of

Quiros's voyage, and no man appears to have had it more at heart; so that if he was in latitude  $26^{\circ}$  S., and in longitude  $146^{\circ}$  W., where Mr. Dalrymple has placed the islands he discovered, it may fairly be inferred that no part of a southern continent extends to that latitude.

It will, I think, appear with equal evidence from the accounts of Roggewein's voyage, that between the longitudes of  $130^{\circ}$  and  $150^{\circ}$  W. there is no main land to the northward of  $35^{\circ}$  S. Mr. Pingre, in a treatise concerning the transit of Venus, which he went out to observe, has inserted an extract of Roggewein's voyage, and a map of the South Seas; and for reasons which may be seen at large in his work, supposes him, after leaving Easter Island, which he places in latitude  $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $123^{\circ}$  W., to have steered S.W. as high as  $34^{\circ}$  S., and afterwards W.N.W.; and if this was indeed his route, the proof that there is no main land to the northward of  $35^{\circ}$  S. is irrefragable. Mr. Dalrymple indeed supposes his route to have been different, and that from Easter Isle he steered N.W., taking a course afterwards very little different from that of La Maire; but I think it is highly improbable that a man who, at his own request, was sent to discover a southern continent, should take a course in which La Maire had already proved no continent could be found: it must, however, be confessed, that Roggewein's track cannot certainly be ascertained, because, in the accounts that have been published of his voyage, neither longitudes nor latitudes are mentioned. As to myself, I saw nothing that I thought a sign of land in my route, either to the northward, southward, or westward, till a few days before I made the east coast of New Zealand. I did indeed frequently see large flocks of birds, but they were generally such as are found at a very remote distance from any coast; and it is also true that I frequently saw pieces of rockweed, but I could not infer the vicinity of land from these, because I have been informed, upon indubitable authority, that a considerable quantity of the beans called *ox-eyes*, which are known to grow nowhere but in the West Indies, are every year thrown up on the coast of Ireland, which is not less than twelve hundred leagues distant.

Thus have I given my reasons for thinking that there is no continent to the northward of latitude  $40^{\circ}$  S. Of what may lie farther to the Southward than  $40^{\circ}$ , I can give no opinion; but I am so far from wishing to discourage any further attempt, finally to determine a question which has long been an object of attention to many

nations, that now this voyage has reduced the only possible site of a continent in the southern hemisphere, north of latitude  $40^{\circ}$ , to so small a space, I think it would be pity to leave that any longer unexamined, especially as the voyage may turn to good account, besides determining the principal question, if no continent should be found, by the discovery of new islands in the tropical regions, of which there is probably a great number that no European vessel has ever yet visited. Tupia from time to time gave us an account of about one hundred and thirty; and, in a chart drawn by his own hand, he actually laid down no less than seventy-four.

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*The run from New Zealand to Botany Bay, on the East Coast of New Holland, now called New South Wales.—Various incidents that happened there:—With some account of the country and its inhabitants.*

HAVING sailed from Cape Farewell, which lies in latitude  $40^{\circ} 33' S.$ , longitude  $186^{\circ} W.$ , on Saturday the 31st of March, 1770, we steered westward, with a fresh gale at N.N.E., and at noon, on the 2d of April, our latitude, by observation, was  $40^{\circ}$ , our longitude from Cape Farewell,  $202^{\circ} 31' W.$

In the morning of the 9th, being in latitude  $38^{\circ} 29' S.$ , we saw a tropic-bird, which in so high a latitude is very uncommon.

In the morning of the 10th, being in latitude  $38^{\circ} 51' S.$ , longitude,  $202^{\circ} 43' W.$ , we found the variation, by the amplitude, to be  $11^{\circ} 25' E.$ , and by the azimuth,  $11^{\circ} 20'.$

In the morning of the 11th, the variation was  $13^{\circ} 48'$ , which is two degrees and a half more than the day before, though I expected to have found it less.

In the course of the 13th, being in latitude  $39^{\circ} 23' S.$ , longitude  $204^{\circ} 2' W.$ , I found the variation to be  $12^{\circ} 27' E.$ , and in the morning of the 14th it was  $11^{\circ} 30'$ ; this day we also saw some flying-fish. On the 15th we saw an egg-bird and a gannet, and as these are birds that never go far from the land, we continued to sound all night, but had no ground with 130 fathom. At noon, on the 16th, we were in latitude  $39^{\circ} 45' S.$ , longitude  $208^{\circ} W.$  At about two o'clock the wind came about to the W.S.W., upon which we tacked and stood to the N.W.; soon after a small land-bird perched upon the rigging, but we had no ground with 120 fathom. At eight we wore, and

stood to the southward till twelve at night, and then wore and stood to the N.W. till four in the morning, when we again stood to the southward, having a fresh gale at W.S.W., with squalls and dark weather till nine, when the weather became clear, and there being little wind, we had an opportunity to take several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of which gave  $207^{\circ} 56'$  W. long.: our latitude at noon was  $39^{\circ} 36'$  S. We had now a hard gale from the southward, and a great sea from the same quarter, which obliged us to run under our fore-sail and mizen all night, during which we sounded every two hours, but had no ground with 120 fathom.

In the morning of the 18th, we saw two Port Egmont hens, and a pintado bird, which are certain signs of approaching land, and, indeed, by our reckoning, we could not be far from it, for our longitude was now one degree to the westward of the east side of Van Diemen's Land, according to the longitude laid down by Tasman, whom we could not suppose to have erred much in so short a run as from this land to New Zealand; and by our latitude, we could not be above fifty or fifty-five leagues from the place whence he took his departure. All this day we had frequent squalls and a great swell. At one in the morning we brought to and sounded, but had no ground with 130 fathom; at six we saw land extending from N.E. to W. at the distance of five or six leagues, having eighty fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom.

We continued standing westward, with the wind at S.S.W., till eight, when we made all the sail we could, and bore away along the shore N.E. for the easternmost land in sight, being at this time in latitude  $37^{\circ} 58'$  S., and longitude  $210^{\circ} 39'$  W. The southermost point of land in sight, which bore from us W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S., I judged to lie in latitude  $38^{\circ}$ , longitude  $211^{\circ} 7'$ , and gave it the name of Point Hicks, because Mr. Hicks, the first lieutenant, was the first who discovered it. To the southward of this point no land was to be seen, though it was very clear in that quarter, and by our longitude, compared with that of Tasman, not as it is laid down in the printed charts, but in the extracts from Tasman's journal, published by Rembrantse, the body of Van Diemen's Land ought to have borne due south; and, indeed, from the sudden falling of the sea after the wind abated, I had reason to think it did; yet as I did not see it, and as I found this coast trend N.E. and S.W., or rather more to the eastward, I cannot determine whether it joins to Van Diemen's Land or not.

At noon we were in latitude  $37^{\circ} 5'$ , longitude  $210^{\circ} 29' W.$  The extremes of the land extended from N.W. to E.N.E., and a remarkable point bore N. 20 E., at the distance of about four leagues. This point rises in a round hillock, very much resembling the Ram Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, and therefore I called it by the same name. The variation by an azimuth, taken this morning, was  $3^{\circ} 7' E.$ ; and what we had now seen of the land appeared low and level: the sea-shore was a white sand, but the country within was green and woody. About one o'clock, we saw three water-spouts at once; two were between us and the shore, and the third at some distance, upon our larboard quarter: this phenomenon is so well known, that it is not necessary to give a particular description of it here.

At six o'clock in the evening we shortened sail, and brought to for the night, having fifty-six fathom water, and a fine sandy bottom. The northermost land in sight then bore N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and a small island lying close to a point on the main bore W., distant two leagues. This point, which I called Cape Howe, may be known by the trending of the coast, which is north on the one side and south-west on the other; it may also be known by some round hills upon the main, just within it.

We brought to for the night, and at four in the morning made sail along-shore to the northward. At six the northermost land in sight bore N.N.W., and we were at this time about four leagues from the shore. At noon we were in latitude  $36^{\circ} 51' S.$ , longitude  $209^{\circ} 53' W.$ , and about three leagues distant from the shore. The weather being clear, gave us a good view of the country, which has a very pleasing appearance: it is of a moderate height, diversified by hills and valleys, ridges and plains, interspersed with a few lawns of no great extent, but in general covered with wood: the ascent of the hills and ridges is gentle, and the summits are not high. We continued to sail along the shore to the northward, with a southerly wind, and in the afternoon we saw smoke in several places, by which we knew the country to be inhabited. At six in the evening we shortened sail, and sounded: we found forty-four fathom water with a clear sandy bottom, and stood on under an easy sail till twelve when we brought-to for the night, and had ninety fathom water.

At four in the morning we made sail again, at the distance of about five leagues from the land, and at six we were abreast of a high

mountain, lying near the shore, which, on account of its figure, I called Mount Dromedary. Under this mountain the shore forms a point to which I gave the name of Point Dromedary, and over it there is a peaked hillock. At this time, being in latitude  $36^{\circ} 18' S.$ , longitude  $209^{\circ} 55' W.$ , we found the variation to be  $10^{\circ} 42' E.$

Between ten and eleven, Mr. Green and I took several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of which gave  $209^{\circ} 17'$  longitude W. By an observation made the day before, our longitude was  $210^{\circ} 9' W.$ , from which  $20'$  being subtracted, there remains  $209^{\circ} 49'$ , the longitude of the ship this day at noon, the mean of which, with this day's observation, gives  $209^{\circ} 33'$ , by which I fix the longitude of this coast. At noon our latitude was  $35^{\circ} 49' S.$ , Cape Dromedary bore S.  $30 W.$ , at the distance of twelve leagues, and an open bay, in which were three or four small islands, bore N.W. by W., at the distance of five or six leagues. This bay seemed to afford but little shelter from the sea winds, and yet it is the only place where there appeared a probability of finding anchorage upon the whole coast. We continued to steer along the shore N. by E. and N.N.E., at the distance of about three leagues, and saw smoke in many places near the beach. At five in the evening we were abreast of a point of land which rose in a perpendicular cliff, and which, for that reason, I called Point Upright. Our latitude was  $35^{\circ} 35' S.$  when this point bore from us due west, distant about two leagues: in this situation, we had about thirty-one fathom water, with a sandy bottom. At six in the evening, the wind falling, we hauled off E.N.E., and at this time the northermost land in sight bore N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2} E.$  At midnight, being in seventy fathom water, we brought to till four in the morning, when we made sail in for the land; but at day-break found our situation nearly the same as it had been at five the evening before, by which it was apparent that we had been driven about three leagues to the southward, by a tide or current, during the night. After this we steered along the shore N.N.E. with a gentle breeze at S.W., and were so near the land as to distinguish several of the natives upon the beach, who appeared to be of a black, or very dark colour. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $35^{\circ} 27' S.$  and longitude  $209^{\circ} 23' W.$ ; Cape Dromedary bore S.  $28 W.$ , distant nineteen leagues; a remarkable peaked hill, which resembled a square dove-house, with a dome at the top, and which for that reason I called the Pigeon House, bore N.  $32^{\circ} 30'$

W.; and a small low island, which lay close under the shore, bore N.W., distant about two or three leagues. When I first discovered this island, in the morning, I was in hopes, from its appearance, that I should have found shelter for the ship behind it; but when we came near it, it did not promise security even for the landing of a boat. I should however have attempted to send a boat on shore, if the wind had not veered to that direction, with a large hollow sea rolling in upon the land from the S.E., which indeed had been the case ever since we had been upon it. The coast still continued to be of a moderate height, forming alternately rocky points and sandy beaches; but within, between Mount Dromedary and the Pigeon House, we saw high mountains, which, except two, are covered with wood: these two lie inland behind the Pigeon House, and are remarkably flat at the top, with steep rocky cliffs all round them, as far as we could see. The trees, which almost everywhere clothe this country, appear to be large and lofty. This day the variation was found to be  $9^{\circ} 50'$  E., and for the two last days, the latitude, by observation, was twelve or fourteen miles to the southward of the ship's account, which could have been the effect of nothing but a current setting in that direction. About four in the afternoon, being near five leagues from the land, we tacked, and stood off S.E. and E., and the wind having veered in the night, from E. to N.E. and N., we tacked about four in the morning, and stood in, being then about nine or ten leagues from the shore. At eight, the wind began to die away, and soon after it was calm. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $35^{\circ} 38'$ , and our distance from the land about six leagues. Cape Dromedary bore S.  $37^{\circ}$  W., distant seventeen leagues, and the Pigeon House N.  $40^{\circ}$  W. In this situation we had 74 fathom water. In the afternoon, we had variable light airs and calms, till six in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at N. by W.: at this time, being about four or five leagues from the shore, we had seventy fathom water. The Pigeon House bore N.  $45^{\circ}$  W., Mount Dromedary S.  $30^{\circ}$  W., and the northermost land in sight N.  $19^{\circ}$  E.

We stood to the north-east till noon the next day, with a gentle breeze at N.W., and then we tacked and stood westward. At this time our latitude, by observation, was  $35^{\circ} 10'$  S., and longitude  $208^{\circ} 51'$  W. A point of land which I had discovered on St. George's day, and which therefore I called Cape George, bore W. distant nineteen miles, and the Pigeon House (the latitude and longitude of

which I found to be  $35^{\circ} 19'$  S. and  $209^{\circ} 42'$  W.) S.  $75^{\circ}$  W. In the morning we had found the variation, by amplitude, to be  $7^{\circ} 50'$  E., and by several azimuths  $7^{\circ} 54'$  E. We had a fresh breeze at N.W. from noon till three; it then came to the west, when we tacked and stood to the northward. At five in the evening, being about five or six leagues from the shore, with the Pigeon House bearing W.S.W. distant about nine leagues, we had eighty-six fathom water; and eight, having thunder and lightning, with heavy squalls, we brought to in 120 fathom.

At three in the morning, we made sail again to the northward, having the advantage of a fresh gale at S.W. At noon we were about three or four leagues from the shore, and in latitude  $34^{\circ} 22'$  S., longitude  $208^{\circ} 36'$  W. In the course of this day's run from the preceding noon, which was forty-five miles north-east, we saw smoke in several places near the beach. About two leagues to the northward of Cape George, the shore seemed to form a bay, which promised shelter from the north-east winds; but as the wind was with us, it was not in my power to look into it without beating up, which would have cost me more time than I was willing to spare. The north point of this bay, on account of its figure, I named Long Nose; its latitude is  $35^{\circ} 6'$ , and about eight leagues north of it there lies a point, which, from the colour of the land about it, I called Red Point: its latitude is  $34^{\circ} 29'$ , and longitude  $208^{\circ} 45'$  W. To the north-west of Red Point, and a little way inland, stands a round hill, the top of which looks like the crown of a hat. In the afternoon of this day we had a light breeze at N.N.W. till five in the evening, when it fell calm. At this time, we were between three and four leagues from the shore, and had forty-eight fathom water: the variation by azimuth was  $8^{\circ} 48'$  E. and the extremities of this land were from N.E. by N. to S.W. by S. Before it was dark, we saw smoke in several places along the shore, and a fire two or three times afterwards. During the night we lay becalmed, driving in before the sea till one in the morning, when we got a breeze from the land, with which we steered N.E., being then in thirty-eight fathom. At noon it veered to N.E. by N., and we were then in latitude  $34^{\circ} 10'$  S., longitude  $208^{\circ} 27'$  W.: the land was distant about five leagues, and extended from S.  $37^{\circ}$  W. to N.  $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  E. In this latitude there are some white cliffs, which rise perpendicularly from the sea to a considerable height. We stood off the shore till two o'clock, and then tacked

and stood in till six, when we were within four or five miles of it, and at that distance had fifty fathom water. The extremities of the land bore from S. 28 W. to N. 25° 30' E. We now tacked and stood off till twelve, then tacked and stood in again till four in the morning, when we made a trip off till day-light; and during all this time we lost ground, owing to the variableness of the winds. We continued at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore, till the afternoon, when we came within two miles, and I then hoisted out the pinnace and yawl to attempt a landing, but the pinnace proved to be so leaky that I was obliged to hoist her in again. At this time we saw several of the natives walking briskly along the shore, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders. We flattered ourselves that they were going to put her into the water; and come off to the ship, but finding ourselves disappointed, I determined to go on shore in the yawl, with as many as it would carry. I embarked, therefore, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and four rowers: we pulled for that part of the shore where the Indians appeared, near which four small canoes were lying at the water's edge. The Indians sat down upon the rocks, and seemed to wait for our landing; but to our great regret, when we came within about a quarter of a mile, they ran away into the woods. We determined, however, to go on shore, and endeavour to procure an interview; but in this we were again disappointed, for we found so great a surf beating upon every part of the beach, that landing with our little boat was altogether impracticable. We were therefore obliged to be content with gazing at such objects as presented themselves from the water. The canoes, upon a near view, seemed very much to resemble those of the smaller sort at New Zealand. We observed, that among the trees on shore, which were not very large, there was no underwood; and could distinguish that many of them were of the palm kind, and some of them cabbage trees: after many a wishful look we were obliged to return, with our curiosity rather excited than satisfied, and about five in the evening got on board the ship. About this time it fell calm, and our situation was by no means agreeable. We were now not more than a mile and a half from the shore, and within some breakers, which lay to the southward; but happily a light breeze came off the land, and carried us out of danger. With this breeze we stood to the northward, and at day-break we discovered a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds

and into which, therefore, I determined to go with the ship. The pinnace being repaired, I sent her, with the master, to sound the entrance, while I kept turning up, having the wind right out. At noon, the mouth of the bay bore N.N.W., distant about a mile, and seeing a smoke on the shore, we directed our glasses to the spot, and soon discovered ten people, who, upon our nearer approach, left their fire, and retired to a little eminence, whence they could conveniently observe our motions. Soon after two canoes, each having two men on board, came to the shore just under the eminence, and the men joined the rest on the top of it. The pinnace, which had been sent a-head to sound, now approached the place, upon which all the Indians retired farther up the hill, except one, who hid himself among some rocks near the landing-place. As the pinnace proceeded along the shore, most of the people took the same route, and kept abreast of her at a distance. When she came back, the master told us, that in a cove a little within the harbour, some of them had come down to the beach, and invited him to land by many signs and words, of which he knew not the meaning; but that all of them were armed with long pikes, and a wooden weapon shaped somewhat like a cimeter.<sup>1</sup> The Indians who had not followed the boat, seeing the ship approach, used many threatening gestures and brandished their weapons; particularly two, who made a very singular appearance, for their faces seemed to have been dusted with a white powder, and their bodies painted with broad streaks of the same colour, which passing obliquely over their breasts and backs, looked not unlike the cross-belts worn by our soldiers; the same kind of streaks were also drawn round their legs and thighs, like broad garters. Each of these men held in his hand the weapon that had been described to us as like a cimeter, which appeared to be about two feet and a half long; and they seemed to talk to each other with great earnestness.

We continued to stand into the bay, and early in the afternoon anchored under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing S.E., and the north point East. As we came in we saw, on both points of the bay, a few huts, and several of the natives, men, women, and children. Under the south head we saw four small canoes, with each one man on board, who were very busily employed in striking fish with a long pike or spear. They ventured almost into the surf, and were so intent upon what

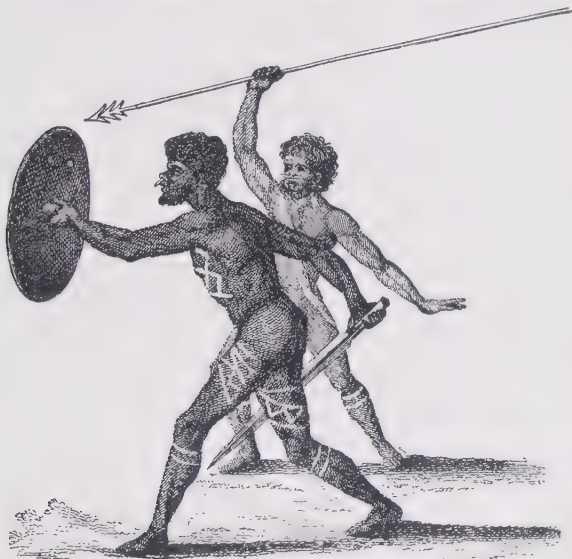
<sup>1</sup> i.e. the boomerang.

they were doing, that although the ship passed within a quarter of a mile of them, they scarcely turned their eyes toward her; possibly, being deafened by the surf, and their attention wholly fixed upon their business or sport, they neither saw nor heard her go past them.

The place where the ship had anchored was abreast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses; and while we were preparing to hoist out the boat, we saw an old woman, followed by three children, come out of the wood; she was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had also its little burden. When she came to the houses, three more children, younger than the others, came out to meet her: she often looked at the ship, but expressed neither fear nor surprise. In a short time she kindled a fire, and the four canoes came in from fishing. The men landed, and having hauled up their nets, began to dress their dinner, to all appearance, wholly unconcerned about us, though we were within half a mile of them. We thought it remarkable that of all the people we had yet seen, not one had the least appearance of clothing, the old woman herself being destitute even of a fig-leaf.

After dinner the boats were manned, and we set out from the ship, having Tupia of our party. We intended to land where we saw the people, and began to hope that as they had so little regard to the ship's coming into the bay, they would as little regard our coming on shore. In this, however, we were disappointed; for as soon as we approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to dispute our landing, and the rest ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in managing or throwing the lance. They called to us in a very loud tone, and in a harsh dissonant language, of which neither we nor Tupia understood a single word: they brandished their weapons, and seemed resolved to defend their coast to the uttermost, though they were but two, and we were forty. I could not but admire their courage, and being very unwilling that hostilities should commence with such inequality of force between us, I ordered the boat to lie upon her oars: we then parleyed by signs for about a quarter of an hour, and to bespeak their good-will, I threw them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be well pleased with. I then made signs that I wanted water, and, by all the means that I could devise, endeavoured to convince them that we would do them no

harm: They now waved to us, and I was willing to interpret it as an invitation; but upon our putting the boat in, they came again to oppose us. One appeared to be a youth about nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; as I had now no other resource, I fired a musket between them. Upon the report, the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again with great haste. A stone was then thrown at us, upon which I ordered a musket to be fired with



Australian warriors

small-shot, which struck the eldest upon the legs, and he immediately ran to one of the houses, which was distant about a hundred yards. I now hoped that our contest was over, and we immediately landed; but we had scarcely left the boat when he returned, and we then perceived that he had left the rock only to fetch a shield or target for his defence. As soon as he came up, he threw a lance at us, and his comrade another; they fell where we stood thickest, but happily hurt nobody. A third musket with small-shot was then fired at them, upon which one of them threw another lance, and both immediately ran away; if we had pursued, we might probably have

taken one of them; but Mr. Banks suggesting that the lances might be poisoned, I thought it not prudent to venture into the woods. We repaired immediately to the huts, in one of which we found the children, who had hidden themselves behind a shield and some bark; we peeped at them, but left them in their retreat, without their knowing that they had been discovered, and we threw into the house, when we went away, some beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other presents, which we hoped would procure us the good-will of the inhabitants when they should return; but the lances which we found lying about, we took away with us, to the number of about fifty: they were from six to fifteen feet long, and all of them had four prongs in the manner of a fish-gig, each of which was pointed with fish-bone, and very sharp: we observed that they were smeared with a viscous substance of a green colour, which favoured the opinion of their being poisoned, though we afterwards discovered that it was a mistake: they appeared, by the sea-weed that we found sticking to them, to have been used in striking fish. Upon examining the canoes that lay upon the beach, we found them to be the worst we had ever seen: they were between twelve and fourteen feet long, and made of the bark of a tree in one piece, which was drawn together and tied up at each end, the middle being kept open by sticks, which were placed across them from gunwale to gunwale as thwarts. We then searched for fresh water, but found none, except in a small hole which had been dug in the sand.

Having re embarked in our boat, we deposited our lances on board the ship, and then went over to the north point of the bay, where we had seen several of the inhabitants when we were entering it, but which we now found totally deserted. Here, however, we found fresh water, which trickled down from the top of the rocks, and stood in pools among the hollows at the bottom; but it was situated so as not to be procured for our use without difficulty.

In the morning, therefore, I sent a party of men to that part of the shore where we first landed, with orders to dig holes in the sand where the water might gather; but going ashore myself with the gentlemen soon afterwards, we found, upon a more diligent search, a small stream, more than sufficient for our purpose. Upon visiting the hut where we had seen the children, we were greatly mortified to find that the beads and ribbons which we had left there the night before had not been moved from their places, and that not an Indian

was to be seen. Having sent some empty water-casks on shore, and left a party of men to cut wood, I went myself in the pinnace to sound, and examine the bay; during my excursion I saw several of the natives, but they all fled at my approach. In one of the places where I landed, I found several small fires, and fresh muscles broiling upon them; here also I found some of the largest oyster-shells I had ever seen.

As soon as the wooders and waterers came on board to dinner, ten or twelve of the natives came down to the place, and looked with great attention and curiosity at the casks, but did not touch them: they took away, however, the canoes which lay near the landing-place, and again disappeared. In the afternoon, when our people were again ashore, sixteen or eighteen Indians, all armed, came boldly within about a hundred yards of them, and then stopped: two of them advanced somewhat nearer; and Mr. Hicks, who commanded the party on shore, with another, advanced to meet them, holding out presents to them as he approached, and expressing kindness and amity by every sign he could think of, but all without effect; for before he could get up with them they retired, and it would have answered no purpose to pursue. In the evening I went with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander to a sandy cove on the north side of the bay, where, in three or four hauls with the seine, we took above three hundred-weight of fish, which was equally divided among the ship's company. The next morning, before day-break, the Indians came down to the houses that were abreast of the ship, and were heard frequently to shout very loud. As soon as it was light, they were seen walking along the beach; and soon after they retired to the woods, where, at the distance of about a mile from the shore, they kindled several fires.

Our people went ashore as usual, and with them Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who, in search of plants, repaired to the woods. Our men, who were employed in cutting grass, being the farthest removed from the main body of the people, a company of fourteen or fifteen Indians advanced towards them, having sticks in their hands, which, according to the report of the serjeant of marines, shone like a musket. The grass-cutters, upon seeing them approach, drew together, and repaired to the main body. The Indians, being encouraged by this appearance of a flight, pursued them; they stopped, however, when they were within about a furlong of them, and after

shouting several times, went back into the woods. In the evening they came again in the same manner, stopped at the same distance, shouted, and retired. I followed them myself, alone and unarmed, for a considerable way along the shore, but I could not prevail upon them to stop. This day Mr. Green took the sun's meridian altitude a little within the south entrance of the bay, which gave the latitude  $34^{\circ}$  S.; the variation of the needle was  $11^{\circ} 3'$  E.

Early the next morning, the body of Forby Sutherland, one of our seamen, who died the evening before, was buried near the watering-place; and from this incident I called the south point of this bay Sutherland Point. This day we resolved to make an excursion into the country. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, myself, and seven others, properly accoutred for the expedition, set out, and repaired first to the huts near the watering-place, whither some of the natives continued every day to resort; and though the little presents which we had left there before had not yet been taken away, we left others of somewhat more value, consisting of cloth, looking-glasses, combs, and beads, and then went up into the country. We found the soil to be either swamp or light sand, and the face of the country finely diversified by wood and lawn. The trees are tall, straight, and without underwood, standing at such a distance from each other, that the whole country, at least where the swamps do not render it incapable of cultivation, might be cultivated without cutting down one of them. Between the trees the ground is covered with grass, of which there is great abundance, growing in tufts about as big as can well be grasped in the hand, which stand very close to each other. We saw many houses of the inhabitants, and places where they had slept upon the grass without any shelter; but we saw only one of the people, who, the moment he discovered us, ran away. At all these places we left presents, hoping that at length they might produce confidence and good-will. We had a transient and imperfect view of a quadruped, about as big as a rabbit. Mr. Banks's greyhound, which was with us, got sight of it, and would probably have caught it, but the moment he set off he lamed himself against a stump which lay concealed in the long grass. We afterwards saw the dung of an animal which fed upon grass, and which we judged could not be less than a deer; and the footsteps of another, which was clawed like a dog, and seemed to be about as big as a wolf. We also tracked a small animal, whose foot resembled that of a polecat or weasel. The trees over our

head abounded with birds of various kinds, among which were many of exquisite beauty, particularly loriquets and cockatoos, which flew in flocks of several scores together. We found some wood which had been felled by the natives with a blunt instrument, and some that had been barked. The trees were not of many species; among others there was a large one which yielded a gum not unlike the *sanguis draconis*; and in some of them steps had been cut at about three feet distant from each other, for the convenience of climbing them.

From this excursion we returned between three and four o'clock, and having dined on board, we went ashore again at the watering-place, where a party of men were filling casks. Mr. Gore, the second lieutenant, had been sent out in the morning with a boat to dredge for oysters at the head of the bay; when he had performed this service, he went ashore, and having taken a midshipman with him, and sent the boat away, set out to join the waterers by land. In his way he fell in with a body of two-and-twenty Indians, who followed him, and were often not more than twenty yards distant. When Mr. Gore perceived them so near, he stopped, and faced about, upon which they stopped also; and when he went on again, continued their pursuit. They did not, however, attack him, though they were all armed with lances, and he and the midshipman got in safety to the watering-place. The Indians, who had slackened their pursuit when they came in sight of the main body of our people, halted at about the distance of a quarter of a mile, where they stood still. Mr. Monkhouse and two or three of the waterers took it into their head to march up to them; but seeing the Indians keep their ground till they came pretty near them, they were seized with a sudden fear very common to the rash and fool-hardy, and made a hasty retreat. This step, which insured the danger that it was taken to avoid, encouraged the Indians, and four of them running forward, discharged their lances at the fugitives, with such force, that flying no less than forty yards, they went beyond them. As the Indians did not pursue, our people, recovering their spirits, stopped to collect the lances when they came up to the place where they lay; upon which the Indians, in their turn, began to retire. Just at this time I came up, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia; and being desirous to convince the Indians that we were neither afraid of them, nor intended them any mischief, we advanced towards them,

making signs of expostulation and entreaty; but they could not be persuaded to wait till we could come up. Mr. Gore told us, that he had seen some of them up the bay, who had invited him by signs to come on shore, which he, certainly with great prudence, declined.

The morning of the next day was so rainy, that we were all glad to stay on board. In the afternoon, however, it cleared up, and we made another excursion along the sea-coast to the southward: we went ashore, and Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander gathered many plants; but besides these we saw nothing worthy of notice. At our first entering the woods, we met with three of the natives, who instantly ran away: more of them were seen by some of the people, but they all disappeared, with great precipitation, as soon as they found that they were discovered. By the boldness of these people at our first landing, and the terror that seized them at the sight of us afterwards, it appears that they were sufficiently intimidated by our fire-arms: not that we had any reason to think the people much hurt by the small-shot which we were obliged to fire at them, when they attacked us at our coming out of the boat; but they had probably seen the effects of them, from their lurking-places, upon the birds that we had shot. Tupia, who was now become a good marksman, frequently strayed from us to shoot parrots; and he had told us, that while he was thus employed, he had once met with nine Indians, who, as soon as they perceived he saw them, ran from him, in great confusion and terror.

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While Mr. Banks was gathering plants near the watering-place, I went with Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse to the head of the bay, that I might examine that part of the country, and make farther attempts to form some connexion with the natives. In our way we met with eleven or twelve small canoes, with each a man in it, probably the same that were afterwards abreast of the shore, who all made into shoal water upon our approach. We met other Indians on shore the first time we landed, who instantly took to their canoes, and paddled away. We went up the country to some distance, and found the face of it nearly the same with that which has been described already, but the soil was much richer; for, instead of sand, I found a deep black mould, which I thought very fit for the production of grain of any kind. In the woods we found a tree which bore fruit that in colour and shape resembled a cherry: the juice had an

agreeable tartness, though but little flavour. We found also interspersed some of the finest meadows in the world: some places, however, were rocky, but these were comparatively few: the stone is sandy, and might be used with advantage for building. When we returned to the boat, we saw some smoke upon another part of the coast, and went thither in hopes of meeting with the people, but at our approach, these also ran away. We found six small canoes, and six fires very near the beach, with some muscles roasting upon them, and a few oysters lying near: by this we judged that there had been one man in each canoe, who having picked up some shell-fish, had come ashore to eat it, and made his separate fire for that purpose. We tasted of their cheer, and left them in return some strings of beads, and other things which we thought would please them. At the foot of a tree in this place we found a small well of fresh water, supplied by a spring; and the day being now far spent, we returned to the ship. In the evening Mr. Banks made a little excursion with his gun, and found such a number of quails resembling those in England, that he might have shot as many as he pleased; but his object was variety and not number.

The next morning, as the wind would not permit me to sail, I sent out several parties into the country to try again whether some intercourse could not be established with the natives. A midshipman, who belonged to one of these parties, having straggled a long way from his companions, met with a very old man and woman, and some little children; they were sitting under a tree by the water-side, and neither party saw the other till they were close together. The Indians showed signs of fear, but did not attempt to run away. The man happened to have nothing to give them but a parrot that he had shot; this he offered, but they refused to accept it, withdrawing themselves from his hand either through fear or aversion. His stay with them was but short, for he saw several canoes near the beach fishing, and being alone, he feared they might come ashore and attack him. He said, that these people were very dark-coloured, but not black; that the man and woman appeared to be very old, being both grey-headed; that the hair of the man's head was bushy, and his beard long and rough; that the woman's hair was cropped short; and both of them were stark-naked. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, and one of the men, who were with another party near the watering-place, also strayed from their companions, and as they were coming

out of a thicket, observed six Indians standing together, at the distance of about fifty yards. One of them pronounced a word very loud, which was supposed to be a signal, for a lance was immediately thrown at him out of the wood, which very narrowly missed him. When the Indians saw that the weapon had not taken effect, they ran away with the greatest precipitation; but on turning about towards the place whence the lance had been thrown, he saw a young Indian, whom he judged to be about nineteen or twenty years old, come down from a tree, and he also ran away with such speed as made it hopeless to follow him. Mr. Monkhouse was of opinion that he had been watched by these Indians in his passage through the thicket, and that the youth had been stationed in the tree to discharge the lance at him, upon a signal, as he should come by; but however this be, there could be no doubt but that he was the person who threw the lance.

In the afternoon, I went myself with a party over to the north shore; and while some of our people were hauling the seine, we made an excursion a few miles into the country, proceeding afterwards in the direction of the coast. We found this place without wood, and somewhat resembling our moors in England; the surface of the ground, however, was covered with a thin brush of plants about as high as the knees. The hills near the coast are low, but others rise behind them, increasing by a gradual ascent to a considerable distance, with marshes and morasses between. When we returned to the boat, we found that our people had caught with the seine a great number of small fish, which are well known in the West Indies, and which our sailors call leather-jackets, because their skin is remarkably thick. I had sent the second-lieutenant out in the yawl a-striking, and when we got back to the ship, we found that he also had been very successful. He had observed that the large sting-rays, of which there is great plenty in the bay, followed the flowing tide into very shallow water; he therefore took the opportunity of flood, and struck several in not more than two or three feet water: one of them weighed no less than two hundred and forty pounds after his entrails were taken out. The next morning, as the wind still continued northerly, I sent out the yawl again, and the people struck one still larger; for when his entrails were taken out, he weighed three hundred and thirty-six pounds.

The great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place, induced me to give it the name of Botany Bay.

It is situated in the latitude of  $34^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $208^{\circ} 37'$  W. It is capacious, safe, and convenient, and may be known by the land on the sea-coast, which is nearly level, and of a moderate height; in general higher than it is farther inland, with steep rocky cliffs next the sea, which have the appearance of a long island lying close under the shore. The harbour lies about the middle of this land, and in approaching it from the southward, is discovered before the ship comes abreast of it; but from the northward it is not discovered so soon. The entrance is a little more than a quarter of a mile broad, and lies in W.N.W. To sail into it, the southern shore should be kept on board till the ship is within a small bare island which lies close under the north shore; within this island the deepest water on that side is seven fathom, shallowing to five a good way up. At a considerable distance from the south shore there is a shoal reaching from the inner south point quite to the head of the harbour; but over towards the north and north-west shore there is a channel of twelve or fourteen feet at low-water for three or four leagues up, to a place where there is three or four fathom; but here I found very little fresh water. We anchored near the south shore, about a mile within the entrance, for the convenience of sailing with a southerly wind, and because I thought it the best situation for watering; but I afterwards found a very fine stream on the north shore, in the first sandy cove within the island, before which a ship might lie almost land-locked, and procure wood as well as water in great abundance. Wood, indeed, is everywhere plenty, but I saw only two kinds which may be considered as timber. These trees are as large or larger than the English oak, and one of them has not a very different appearance; this is the same that yields the reddish gum like *sanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark-coloured, like *lignum vitæ*: the other grows tall and straight, something like the pine; and the wood of this, which has some resemblance to the live-oak of America, is also hard and heavy. There are a few shrubs, and several kinds of the palm; mangroves also grow in great plenty near the head of the bay. The country in general is level, low, and woody, as far as we could see. The woods, as I have before observed, abound with birds of exquisite beauty, particularly of the parrot kind; we found also crows here, exactly the same with those in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large flats of sand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl, most of which were altogether

unknown to us: one of the most remarkable was black and white, much larger than a swan, and in shape somewhat resembling a pelican. On these banks of sand and mud there are great quantities of oysters, muscles, cockles, and other shell-fish, which seem to be the principal subsistence of the inhabitants, who go into shoal-water with their little canoes, and pick them out with their hands. We did not observe that they eat any of them raw, nor do they always go on shore to dress them, for they have frequently fires in their canoes for that purpose. They do not, however, subsist wholly upon this food, for they catch a variety of other fish, some of which they strike with gigs, and some they take with hook and line. All the inhabitants that we saw were stark-naked; they did not appear to be numerous, nor to live in societies, but, like other animals, were scattered about along the coast, and in the woods. Of their manner of life, however, we could know but little, as we were never able to form the least connexion with them. After the first contest at our landing, they would never come near enough to parley; nor did they touch a single article of all that we had left at their huts, and the places they frequented, on purpose for them to take away.

During my stay in this harbour I caused the English colours to be displayed on shore every day, and the ship's name and the date of the year to be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place.

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[Setting sail from Botany Bay on 6th May 1770 Cook explored and charted the coast-line as he proceeded northward. After finally establishing at 'Endeavour Straits' the fact that New Guinea was not an outlying part of New Holland, he sailed to Batavia, where a stay of over two months was made. The *Endeavour* then pursued her voyage by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and reached England on 12th June 1771.]

